POLIMANTEIA,

OR,

The meanes lawfull and vnlawfull, to
IVDGE OF THE FALL OF A
COMMON-WEALTH, AGAINST
the friuolous and foolish conie-
ctures of this age.

Whereunto is added,

A letter from England *to her three daughters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court,* and to all the rest of her inhabitants: perswading them to a constant vnitie of what religion soever they *are, for the defence of our dread soveraigne,* and native country: most requisite for this time wherein wee now live.

Invida, quod neque as imitari carpere noli:
Nil nisi cum sumptu mentem oculosq; iuvat.

Printed by Iohn Legate, *Printer to the Vniversitie of Cambridge.* 1595.

And are to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in Pauls Church-yard in London.

TO THE RIGHT *honourable, Robert Devorax Earle* of Essex and Ewe, Vicount of Hereforde, Lord *Ferrer of Chartley, Borcher, and Lovaine, Ma*ster of the Queenes Maiesties Horse, Knight *of the noble order of the Garter, and one of* her Maiesties most Honourable privie Councell.

IT is easie to gesse (honourable Lorde) why Schollars flocke under the patronage of men in your place; their condition is so weake, that unlesse men truly honourable doe defend them, they are most of all in this age distressed. And yet (braue noble Lorde) ingeniously to confesse my true meaning) it is not that which mooued me at this time; but it is the height of admiration which my thoughts conceiued of your honours worth, that made me thinke all men bound to offer signes of loue and dutie, where both are deserued in so high a measure I take vpon me *Englands* person and speake like a Common-wealth. And therfore howsoeuer it were presumption in me to dedicate papers of so small moment, to a personage of so rare worth, yet (honourable Lorde) take them as your cuntries talke, vouchsafe to reade them stamped with her name, and so all shall be afraide to mislike them, beeing graced with yours. And yet I weigh not whether others mislike them or no; let but your honour for learnings sake (a thing which I know you doe) say you are content to accept of the meanest trifle, and grace it with a good looke, and

then I contemne what male-contented melancholy can speake against me. Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like Englands Cedar is sprung up to preserue with your shadowe, the humblest in all professions, from hatreds malice. The warlike and braue soldier thinkes him selfe (and that in truth is) graced, to be tearmed but your follower. The worthy and kinde passionate Courtier deemes (and worthily) this his honour, to be your fauorite. The sober and devout student, that dispised doeth walke melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be tearmed your schollar. Thus all relye noble Lord, upon your favour. And I (who though I must needs honour) yet usually with so deepe affection am not devoted without cause) doe so in kindnesse and loue (if that be not a word too presumptuous) passe over the full interest of my selfe to your dispose, as in what kinde soeuer a schollar may doe his dutie, I am readie and desirous to be commanded by you: then accept (noble lorde) the willing mind of him that hath nothing else: and say, that that alone, is absolutely sufficient to content you. Read it, but (or if that be to much) doe but accept it, and so rest. whereof not doubting in the middest of so many signes of a schollar-respecting honour, in dutie I kisse my hand, and humbly take my leaue.

Your honours in all duty most affectionate,

W C.

The Preface to the Reader.

Ee are fallen into the barren age of the worlde (courteous Reader*) wherein though some fewe trauaile to expell Barbarisme, (which fortunately they haue done in our English tongue) yet a number of idle conceited-wise-foolish heades take vpon them peremptorily to censure other mens paines: so that euery man is loath to enter into the viewe whilst Idlenes shall stand controlling and giue her sentence. I know it could sit these to write, but that* magni laboris est quem plerique fugimus. Homer *wrote of the trauailes of the worthie Gracian* Vlysses; Curtius *of* Alexander *and* Darius; Rome *had neuer beene so renowmed but for* Titus Livius; Thucydides *eternized* Iason *and* Minotaure; *and sweet* Salust Iugurth *and* Cateline: *nay this wise age, long since had beene plaine foolish, if our painefull forefathers had not trauailed for their good. And if any man thinke this age is too wisely learned to read any thing which is but some fewe droppes of that mayne Ocean which ouerflowed in their daies, let him knowe this, that care added to their industrious trauailes, is easily able to perform matters of great importance. Learning was let loose ouer all* Europe *euer since* Athens *did first flourish (excepting a fewe yeares when the* Gothes *and* Vandalls *compelled her to line in exile) who flying fast from their furie left* Italie *and those famous places, and planted her selfe so firmely in these poore countreies, that euer since amongst vs shee hath lined honourably. Thus in the abundance of our knowledge, he that hath taken paines, stands at the courtesie of euery paltrie fellowe to be censured as it please him. In consideration whereof, wise men haue deemed it the safest, secretly to smile, and soberly to say nothing. For my paines I much care not, I esteeme thee (Reader) as thou dost me, for (degenerous minds intreated, grow insolent:) the daies are euill, and the argument is fit for these times; I knowe diuers haue trauailed in the same kinde, whome I but humble (without wronging them) to speake vnto thy capacitie: Nobilitie fully learned made*

The cause why many write not.

Ignorance sits idle and will iudge.

In vaine doe we complain of multitude of bookes.

Valef. Zanch. N.D.B.Gallici

My L. Henry Howard.

choice

then I contemne what male-contented melancholy can speake against me. Your honour (be it spoken without envie) like Englands Cedar is sprung up to preserue with your shadowe, the humblest in all professions, from hatreds malice. The warlike and braue soldier thinkes him selfe (and that in truth is) graced, to be tearmed but your follower. The worthy and kinde passionate Courtier deemes (and worthily) this his honour, to be your fauorite. The sober and devout student, that dispised doeth walke melancholy, takes himselfe (and not without cause) fortunate to be tearmed your schollar. Thus all relye noble Lord, upon your favour. And I (who though I must needs honour) yet usually with so deepe affection am not devoted without cause) doe so in kindnesse and loue (if that be not a word too presumptuous) passe over the full interest of my selfe to your dispose, as in what kinde soeuer a schollar may doe his dutie, I am readie and desirous to be commanded by you: then accept (noble lorde) the willing mind of him that hath nothing else: and say, that that alone, is absolutely sufficient to content you. Read it, but (or if that be to much) doe but accept it, and so rest. whereof not doubting in the middest of so many signes of a schollar-respecting honour, in dutie I kisse my hand, and humbly take my leaue.

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choice to handle the same argument, and with such profounde deepe skill performde it, as that truth taketh her selfe much bound vnto him, who made her to speake eloquently that vseth to be plaine, and false prophesies ashamed, who so long haue vsurped truths titles. From hence maist thou learne (or at least remember) that the greatest Monarches (howsoeuer proud in their owne strength) must either fall with an enemies stroake, or (as Rome *did) with her owne waight: here maist thou see that nothing is so made, but subiect to great change. And yet least thou desire to knowe what thou oughtest not, I haue laboured to make knowne what thou shouldest desire: my leisure will not serue to detaine thee long, and a short preface is beseeming so small paines. I take my leaue, and (if thou hast deserued) I giue thee thanks: onely this I must adde further (not to accuse others, or make an Apologie for my selfe) that I neuer yet in the least syllable of the so tearmed loosest line, meant either to modestie, pietie, chastitie, time, the Muses, or kindnes to doe wrong; neither should the surmised obiect of my muses song, or the dearest which that obiect hath, suspect in me but the least shadow of supposed iniurie: for I neither ment to make loose poetrie a true historie, or thought that wise courtesie would be so suspicious to misdeeme him, whose thoughts long since were denoted to grauer studies: from whence taking leisure but to pause a little, my penne grewe passionate, and my idle papers scattered vnawares flew abroad (I protest) not to offend any: thus I binde thee (by that credit which truth deserues) whosoeuer thou art which reads, to beleeue what I haue spoken herein, and (if thou please) for my sake to accept this. And because euery* Balductum *makes diuine poetrie to be but base rime, I leaue thee (sacred eloquence) to be defended by the Muses ornaments, and such (despised) to liue tormented with endles pouertie.* Farewell.

For such a Coxcombe.

Diluuium, terræ motus, contagia passim
Bella, fames, mundi quid reliquum exitio est?
Ignis & ipse prope est; vnde hæc? ex arce tonantis:
Tot mala quid mundo congerit? Impietas.
Anne salutis adhuc spes vlla est? vnica: quisnam
Porriget hanc? pietas: hæc vbi? nullus habet:
Quid stas munde? rue, vt pietas est nulla; ruentem
Sic video; auxilium numina læsa negant.

Inscriptio portæ.

Si nihil ædificas, quid spectas nostra viator?
Aut mea ne carpas, aut meliora struas.
Si meliora tenes, id divos poscito mecum,
Ne, quod vterque tenet, fascinet inuidia.

Labor.

O labor, ô sudor, scelerati præmia morsus,
Ah satis natos occule terra tuos.

Nec omnia nec omnes mihi
placuere; quinam ego omnibus?
non omnibus Cous senex,
non eremita Spagirus,
num tu viator omnibus?
deo placere cura, abei.

POLIMANTEIA.

BEfore we come particularlie to ſpeake of *Diuinations* lawfull & vnlawful; for the true and better vnderſtanding of them, we will firſt define, what Diuination is: *Diuination is a foretelling of things to come, performing it in diuers manners, as well artificially, as naturally.* But thoſe that more curiouſly ſubtilize vpon the Etymologie, ſay, that to diuine is properly to foretell, and to foreſee things to come, by an exteriour motion, without hauing any ſubiect, cauſe, or ſigne before hand to coniecture ſo; and therefore in this ſort, God teſtifieth of himſelfe, that he alone knoweth things to come, which afterward he reueiled by his Prophets

What Diuination is.

God alone abſolutely knoweth things to come.

and

and Apoſtles, as it pleaſed him. Now Satan deſiring in this to bee Gods Ape, (thereby the better to abuſe the world, & to drowne men in intolerable ſuperſtition, by a naturall curioſitie to know things to come) hath iniurioufllie and falſelie vſurped the ſame authoritie to diuine, and from thēce proceedeth the word *Diuination*: ſo that thereby Satan ſo much the more vnder a cloak of naturall things, is for the moſt part as a forger and coūterfeiter (excepting the diuination whereupon the ſubiect of this matter depends:) and therefore it is neceſſarie to trie and examine in the firſt place, the might, ſubtiltie and craft of the diuell; in whom we ſhall finde as great knowledge and vnderſtanding, (excepting the Angels) as in all the other creatures beſides; wee ſhall finde as great ſubtiltie for interpreting the ſignes of diuers things: a matchles vigilancie: an incomparable cunning, to inuent trumperies; and deceit, vnder fine coloured, but falſe pretences; And

Satan Gods

Satan falſely a Diuiner.

The power of Satan.

to

to conclude, a most perfect malice accompanied with a perpetuall hate against mankinde: and the rather, seeing that it is not in his force, to doe any thing of himselfe: to hinder the course of things naturall ordained by God: to destroy and to make againe: to sound the depth of mans heart: or to foresee how God gouerneth the course of the world: the affayres of Kings and Princes before the reuelation of his diuine prophesies. Notwithstanding he perceiueth by his subtiltie the hid properties of things bodily and spirituall. His knowledge is exceeding by his manifold experience of things past: he diueth so farre as may posibly bee sounded into mens maners; and copies out their actions, from whence he deriueth his greatest profit. Thus he incombers the actions of Kings & Princes of each in particular; that contrarie to all reason and opinion of men, they are all so intermedlingly inwrapped each in other states, that scarse anie knoweth

Satan a perpetuall enemie to mankinde.

how to eſcape himſelfe. Thorough the deepe whereof he ſo lancheth without ſight, that he maketh one of them to entrap and beguile another: whereof euerie where are examples ſufficient, and therefore S. *Paul* to the Epheſians ſetteth downe moſt liuely Satans puiſſance. But let vs ſee a little neerer the diuels policie, of what force & efficacie it is, eſpecially in thoſe things which concerne the ruines of Gouernment, or change of a Common wealth. Firſt then, although that the diuell knoweth not the ſtate and affayres of Kings and Princes in particular, as God from the beginning hath predeſtinated them in his immutable counſel, nor how he wil diſpoſe and change them contrarie to the opinion of men & ordinarie courſe of things natural; yet notwithſtanding the knowledge which men by the permiſsion of almightie God, haue drawn out of the diuine propheſies of ancient time, is not comparable to that of Satan, by reaſon he farre ſurpaſſeth man,

Man inferiour in knowledge to Satan.

in

in fine, quick & nimble ſubtiltie, which he vſeth to his owne aduantage. Theſe know by the predictions of Prophets: that ſuch Kings and Princes ſhall come to gouerne: beſides, by what meanes they ſhall attaine it, and by whom God will giue the Scepter into their hands: beſides, when and how it ſhall be taken from them. And in one word, Satan knoweth the eſtate of Gouernment which muſt happen, and how long it ſhal endure, and the enemies which ſhal riſe vp for the ruine of it. From theſe & ſuch like reuelations would they drawe their diuinations. They haue found out by the propheſies of *Daniel* the eſtate & chaunge of Monarchies which muſt happen, the ruine of *Darius*, the deſtruction of *Aſia*: and that the Monarchie of *Babylon* ſhall be tranſported to the *Greekes*: By meanes whereof, when *Alexander* the Great conſulted with the Oracle at *Delphos*, *Pythias* anſwered him, *Eris inuictus Alexander:* Thou ſhalt be vnconquered *Alexander*. And after-

Spirits.

Note.

Foretold.

Oracles.

ward for confirming, and giuing credit to his Oracle, hee ceased not to shewe signes & wonders together with vaine illusions, in the behalfe of *Alexander*, which way soeuer he marched with his armie: on the contrarie not to daunt *Darius* too much, he nourisht in him a vaine hope by doubtfull dreames, perswading him fondly of victorie, against his enemie. For the temptations of Satan are of that sort, that they promise vs all ioy and happines whatsoeuer: but no sooner they are entertained of vs, but in their place commeth despayre, with a perpetuall torment. By the prophesie of *Daniel* and *Esai*, the diuell knewe that the Monarchie of the *Assyrians* should be wholly desolate and giuen into the power of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and that al this should be done by *Cyrus*. For this cause it was foretold, that King *Cræsus* should be chased and spoyled of the kingdome of *Lydia*: And therefore knowing the might of King *Cyrus*, Satan ceased not to moue and incite

Satans subtiltie.

Satan an Ambidexter.

Satan knoweth the scripture.

cite *Cræsus*, by a bayte of ambition, to oppose himselfe against the *Persian Cyrus*. This being done, the *Assyrians* Empyre was spoyled, *Cræsus* conquered, and the Monarchie translated to *Cyrus*. *Cræsus conquered.*

There is one especiall example farre surpassing all that antiquitie mentioneth of Satans subtiltie, whereby apparantly he shewed the intent and effect of his whole treacherie: It was that of the great contemplatiue diuine *Jamblicke*, who desirous to knowe the name of him that should in the Empyre succeede the Emperour *Valens* that then raigned, he made trial of it by a certain foolish (be it spoken with reuerence to so wise a man) and most vnlearned diuination in this manner: He caused the Greeke Alphabet written to bee put by distinct letters, in the ground, and vpon euery one he placed a graine of Barley; in the midst a Cock, & the letters where the Cocke scraped the Barley, should signifie the thing he so much desired. Now it happened that the Cock bared *Iamblich.* *A thing vnlawfull.* *A foolish proofe.*

these

θ ε ο δ. these foure letters: Θ, Ε, Ο, Δ: yet now likewise he remained vncertain of the name which these letters should portend, to discerne whether it were *Theodosius*, or *Theodotus*, *Theodorus*, or *Theodectes*. The Emperour *Valens* seeing the euent of all this, & fearing some false play, made (*Herod* like) all such to be put to death, as those letters did poynt out. He commaunded likewise, to search foorth the *Diuine*. *Jamblicke*, fearing the crueltie of the Emperour, by reason of the fault which he had committed, (for it was not lawfull in *Rome* to enquire into the succession of the Empyre during the life of the Emperour) poysoned himselfe. But we shall finde for the most part that the diuell the more to delude men by these diuinations, gaue his answers hid, darke, double, and doubtful, especiallie when himselfe (which often happened) was vncertaine of the euent, being only led by suspicious and sleight coniectures, without euidence of diuine reuelation, (as appeared by the doubt of that

Diuination will beget Tyrannie.

Vnmeete it should be.

Doubtfull answers argue deceite, or ignorance.

that name which those foure letters might portend:) for not knowing the trueth, he talketh by circumstances and darke signes, sometimes telling the trueth to gaine credit to his false lyes, seeing by a malicious instinct he striueth to obscure the trueth, to the great dammage of mortall men. For his delight is in falshood, and his ioy is in our fall. That is the reason why hee vseth these doubtfull & vncertaine answers, to the intent to abuse men by his ridiculous apish mockeries, and finally to bring them by a certaine feare, and a sorrow of things to come, to most abominable wickednesse, in executing the self same euil, which before he had told vnto him, that inquired of it.

A Caueat.

We haue a most famous example and worth the marking, of an Oracle (in respect of their doubtfull answers) which was found in *Greece* vnder the shadowe of the word φως, which signifieth both *man* and *light*, if the accent be not rightly placed (for the ancient Greekes were

Ambiguitie in oracles.

φως, *man, light.*

 not

not careful in this, as it is well noted by *Justus Lypsius:)* then the doubt of the foresayd Oracle, by reason of the ambiguitie of the word, made them vncertaine whether their sacrifice should be of humane flesh or some other thing; euen so now we see oftentimes that he hath told the euent of things, whereof he is the author: yet notwithstanding for al that, because God hath admirable meanes in his counsell for to gouerne all that is in the world, and because Satan is ignorant of the euent or chaunge of things disposed by GOD himselfe, (whether it bee a punishment or a release of his rigor, which he vseth sometimes in the execution of his iustice) he vttereth his diuinations & predictions in obscure manner, ballanced with an equal, yet difficult interpretatiō, which may as well agree to this as to that, not only for the doubtfull sense, but for the double reading of it. Of this kind was this: *Cræsus Halym penetrans magnā pervertit opum vim.* Likewise the fraudulent

God disproueth his sophistrie.

lent example of the answere which the diuel gaue vnto Pope *Borgias* of eleuen yeares and eight moneths, may serue to confirme this. Furthermore, the diuell not only knoweth by diuine prophesies the subuersions, ruines, and restorings of Monarchies, but he intrudeth himselfe often into the handling of them, & entermedleth in the counsel of Kings and Princes, enforcing them by all means possible to bring in a confusion: to trouble the estate: to oppose themselues one against another: to disperse Realmes: to debase lawes tending to the good gouernment of the Common wealth: He is alwayes hammering of some newes, daily to hinder good and sound counsell, and in stead of them to set abroach other, fatall to the Church and the Common wealth: he enflameth the hearts of the mightie, with an ambitious desire of ruling, to this end, he perswades them to followe bad counsell, seruing for the execution of their dissignments: Such as these are

Pope Borgias.

Satan cunning in diuine prophesies.

A states mã.

The author of ill lawes.

Ieroboam.

plentifull in the holie ſcripture. Thus he moued the *Chaldeans* to come to rob and ſpoyle *Iob* of his riches, and to ſley his ſeruants. Thus he plotted like an anciẽt ſtates man, to hinder the rebuilding of the Temple of *Ieruſalem*, after the returne from *Babylon*, perſwading king *Cambyſes*, by meanes of the Courts flatterers, to make warre againſt the *Ægyptians*, which hee did: And for feare leſt the *Jewes* ſhould enter into alliance with them of *Ægypt*, the king commanded in plain termes, to hinder the work of the Temple which was then begun: and thus Satan compaſſed his intended ſcope. When he asked leaue to enter into the heard of ſwine, hee had more craft then a common politicke: He did the *Gaderens* a diſpleaſure in their religion, by that meanes, foreſeeing they would entreat Chriſt to go out of their kingdome, and ſo runne headlong with their ſwine, into eternall deſtruction. Againe, he ſtood at the right ſide of the Sacrificer in *Jeruſalem*, to hinder that no

Iob.1.17.

Note.

Satan vſeth great men ſometimes for his turne.

A foreſeeing Polititian.

no good thing might bee done in that citie. Hee attacheth (as it were) with a contagious infection the most part of publique persons, the better by that meanes to obtaine his purpose, by reason of the charge which they sustaine for to preserue others. Then seeing that Satan intermingleth himself in the midst of affayres publique, and that by a diuine permission, he insnareth both one, and other, ayming continually to subuert the state, (especiallie of Monarches) knowing besides, that their ruine and change shall happen, it is no meruaile that hee oftentimes foresees the euents whereof he is the cause, and afterward forgeth *Diuinations*, to the intent to deceiue both one and other. But although that God oftentimes permit Satan (by reason of our demerits) to exercise his tyrannie ouer the principall states of the world, yet notwithstanding, that permission is not infinite; for God keepeth, gardeth, and defendeth Realmes, to the intent that being

Rather them then others to make thē hurt by example.

1. *King*. 22.

Satan buzzeth into mens hearts that which he hath plotted himselfe.

God is the sure rocke of defence to a kingdome.

ſhaken they may not be altogether ruinated, cauſing his holie ſpirit to watch ouer them, againſt an enemie ſo mightie, in giuing them wholeſome counſel, for the preſeruation of their eſtate. It is moſt certaine that GOD permitteth Satan ſomtimes to tyrannize ouer one, or other, as we ſee in the King of *Babylon*, who was giuen into his power for ſeuen yeares: yet notwithſtanding whē it pleaſed him hee made a reſtraint and brideled his vnruly will. We ſee ſometimes how hee keepeth and vpholdeth the Realmes of wicked Kings, for to make them a meanes to maintaine his Church, as appeared in the kingdomes of *Babylon*, *Perſia*, and the *Romanes* in the time of *Nero* (Natures moſt ſtrange monſter) in reſpect whereof, it is ſayd, that the ſocietie of man is reſembled to a flocke of ſheepe, whereof though ſome indaunger themſelues, yet the faithfull ſhepheard endeuoureth himſelfe by all meanes poſſible, to ſaue his flocke whole, and defend it againſt the

Dan 4.29.

So at this day Spayne a ſtay for Chriſtians againſt the Turke.

Nero.

The ſocietie of man compared.

rage

rage of the wolues, which would deuoure it. For if wee would but consider the matter a little further, we shall finde by the scripture in the time of *Noah*, after the building of the tower of *Babylon*, that *Nimrod* was elected by diuine prouidence, to guide and gouerne the people then, when as the children, nephewes, and linage of *Noah*, wandered without townes to dwell in, destitute of cities, or houses, liuing by hunting and vpon the fruites of the earth, without any tillage, who then represented a maiestie, force and valour in his person; by reason wherof the holie scripture saith, that hee was *Robustus venator Domini, aut, Coram Domino*, a strong hunter of the Lord, by reason of the might and puissance that hee had to tame the sauage and wild beasts: Whereby we may well conclude, that Common wealths had their beginnings by violent Tyrannies, & that *Nimrod* by force & violence obtained the soueraigntie. Notwithstãding we find in scripture, that he

Gen.10.11

Gen.10.9.

Or as some say, tyrãnize ouer men.

was

was a moſt heroicall King and no Tyrant: (howſoeuer ſome doe intend otherwiſe) becauſe that by his meanes was eſtabliſhed the forme of a Common wealth, moſt durable to gouerne, and to keepe the people in order and diſcipline. And ſo from this firſt diuine wiſedome, humane ſocietie was kept vnited from time to time. This likewiſe is the cauſe why the Prince is tearmed Gods Vicegerent vpon earth. Finally, he was garded with ſuch force, that the Empyres (which wee call Monarchies) by this meanes were ordained: & then of the ſelfe ſame Monarchies, (by reaſon of an inſatiable ambition and deſire to rule) proceeded Tyrannies. But although that Tyrants, by the permiſſion of God, ſeemed ſometimes (by reaſon of their horrible murders and deſtructions) to bee willing to cancell all law, and peruert all iuſtice, that tended to the maintenance of a Commonwealth, and whereby Empyres flouriſhed: yet notwithſtanding wee finde by the

A monarchy eaſily a tyranny.

His beginning.

A Prince Gods Vicegerent.

A thing vſuall.

the discourse of histories, that the verie Tyrants themselues, by a diuine prouidence, haue oftentimes left behinde thē good lawes, as the true markes of Iustice, tending to the maintenance and conseruation of kingdoms, to the intēt that humane societie should not either be dispersst, or raced out. God hath the meanes to vs vnknowne, to keep them from such wickednesses, that he turneth the euil of present ruling Tyrants, vnto the especiall good of gouerning posteritie: for his will is the perfect rule and the infallible direction of all right and equitie. By reason whereof some are of that mind, that although the Empyre of the *Turkes*, in dignitie and greatnes exceeded the foure Monarchs of the worlde, yet notwithstanding it could not bee reputed for a true Monarchie, because that amongst those barbarous people, there was neither humanitie nor forme, or shewe of iustice, but a meere deuastation of Empyres, and a reall destruction of all lawes and poli-

Tyrants haue often had a care of good lawes.

The Turke no Monarch.

Without Iustice no Monarchie.

cies; which were eſtabliſhed and dreamingly obſerued of other Monarchies, vnder whom (notwithſtanding their enormities) God had continually preſerued miraculouſly a forme of iuſtice, to the intent to preſerue his owne people. I will onely alleadge two examples (not to bee too troubleſome) without touch or mention of the Romane lawes afterward brought in, to ſhew by them the equitie and iuſtice, which Tyrants and Infidels themſelues haue ſomtimes in the gouernment of their Commonwealths vſed, as well in regard of their ciuill and politicke order, as Militarie. The one long ſince famous, is the example of the execution of iuſtice in King *Cambyſes* (otherwiſe a great Tyrant) which he executed vpō the Iudge corrupted with bribes in the perſon of *Syſannes*, who after he was put to death he was fleyed, and his skinne hung ouer the Iudgement ſeate, where his ſonne was commanded to ſit as Iudge, that in iudging he might remēber the offence of

Iuſtice ſomtimes amongſt Tyrants.

Cambyſes. Herodotus lib. 1.

of his father. The other, is the famous and memorable example of *Anaxilaus*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* vſed thus: He ſeeing that in the time of the ſiege of the citie *Byzance*, *Clearchus* the Gouernour begã to take the goods of the Burgeſſes, that dyed for famine, to diuide amongſt his Souldiers, to the intent to hold the towne longer, he dealt in the abſence of *Clearchus* with the enemie, to yeeld vp the towne vpon good conditions, which ſoone yeelded without pillage or ſhedding of bloud. Afterward *Anaxilaus* was accuſed to thẽ of *Sparta* for rendring the towne, who (vſing a moſt honeſt excuſe) anſwered, that they ought to make warre againſt the enemie and not their owne ſelues, and that it was a thing moſt vniuſt to handle the Burgeſſes more rudely then the enemie. And for theſe excuſes full of reaſon they abſolued him. This example may ſerue at this day ſometimes to excuſe publique perſons, whõ ſome indeuour to accuſe and blame ſlanderouſly,

Anaxilaus.

But not to excuſe treaſon.

rously, without discretion, not considering that God miraculously gouerneth the heart of those whom God hath placed to gouerne others, to the intent to hinder and preuent the totall ruine of his people and Common wealth; as we may reade of the Prophet *Ieremiah*, who gaue counsell to the King *Zedechias*, when he was besieged in *Jerusalem*, to yeeld himselfe to the *Chaldeans*, to the intent to preserue the people and the towne, notwithstanding many others perswaded the contrarie. Many such examples full of naturall equitie are largely handled by Saint *Ambrose* in the third booke of his Offices. On the other side to returne to our former subiect, it is knowne vnto all, that the diuell hath knowledge concerning the ruines and changes of Common wealths, and that he hath learned much by the periods of yeares, and the fatall age of Realmes, and Empires, knowing by obseruation of times, that they are limited: and because their state is subiect to change,

Not absolutely.

change, that ſerues him for all occaſions. *Cicero* in the twelft of the *Nature of gods*, ſpeaking of the inuention of ſundrie diuinations, and ſuperſtitious obſeruations, hath theſe wordes, *Multas res diuturnus vſus ita notauit vt artem Diuinationis efficeret*: & in another place he ſaith, *Obſeruatio diuturna notandis rebus fecit artem*: The hiſtories of all times doe teach vs (in caſe wee would carefully obſerue them, & ſearch them throughly) that the moſt parte of the greateſt kingdomes, haue not endured *fiue hundred yeares*. Many haue light ſhort of that full time: none or very few haue paſſed it, but haue fallen either at that period, or not long before it; ſome hauing periſhed in whole, ſome onely changed in ſome forme; the gouernment of the Kings of *Iuda* beginning with *Saule*, the firſt kingdome continued to the captiuitie of *Babylon*, which was fiue hundred yeres. The ſame ſpace of time was likewiſe againe marked after the Captiuitie, beginning at

Cicero de Natura Deorum.

Obſeruation hath begotten this Diuination.

500. yeares the common period of a Kingdome in former time.

The Kings of Iuda.

Saul.

Esdras. *Vespasian.* Ioseph de Bell. Iud.

Esdras, and continuing to the Emperor *Vespasian*, which ruinated *Jerusalem* from the very grounde, and then were the Iewes dispersed, and scattered from one part of the world to another: and since that time their common wealth was neuer perfectly restored, notwithstanding the indeuours and extreame paines they imployed therein. The Commonwealth of the *Athenians* from *Cecrope* to *Codrus*, continued foure hundred foureſcore and ten yeares: which was then changed to a *Democratie*. The Common wealth of the *Lacedæmonians* changed about that time, vnder the Kings *Heraclides*, till the time of *Alexander* the Great. The Romayne *Consuls* gouerned fiue hundred yeares, from the banishment of the Kings, vntill the time of the monarchie of *Augustus*; the same was obserued since *Augustus* till the fall of *Valentinian* the last Emperor of the West: and that then the West Empire fayled: and that the barbarous *Vandales*, *Alaius* and others, inuaded

Gods iudgement.

The common wealth of Athens continued 490. yeares.

The common wealth of the Lacedemonians.

Romaine Consuls 500. yeares.

Valentinian. *West Empire.*

Vandales

ded the countries of *Spayne*, and in the ende all *Italie*, with the citie of *Rome*. The ſame number of yeares were obſerued a little after, from the time that *Conſtantine* the Great tranſported the *Italian* Empire to *Conſtantinople*, vntill *Charlemaine*, who reſtored the Empyre of the weſt, hauing chaſed the *Lombards* out of *Italie*. Likewiſe wee may call to minde by hiſtories, that many realmes and Common wealthes haue endured not paſt the halfe period of thoſe fiue hundred, or there about; as that of the *Perſians*, which from *Cyrus* to the laſt *Darius* flouriſhed: but in the two hundred and thirtie yeares, it was fully ruinated by the force of *Alexander* the Great. On the other ſide, the Monarchie of the *Greekes*, which began with *Alexander*, and afterward ſucceſſiuely was deriued to diuers kings, as of *Syria*, and *Ægypt*, continued two hundred and fiftie yeares, which after that time was ſubuerted by the might of the *Romans*. Furthermore if we would ſearch the

Conſtantine.

Charlemaine.

Perſians continued 230.

Monarch of the Greekes 250. yeeres.

the Chronicles of *France*, we ſhall finde the ſame *period* (after that *Syagre*, laſt Proconſull and Lieutenant for the *Romans* in *France*, was depoſed) till *Clowis* the firſt chriſtian king, vntill *Pepin* father of *Charlemaine*, and then after vntil *Hugh Capet*, was numbred 237. yeres. Further, beſides all this, we may ſee in the diſcourſe of hiſtories, that the period of ſeuen hundred yeares brought notable change to ſtates. The Common wealth of the *Carthaginians*, (then when it was wholly ſpoyled by *Scipio*) had continued ſeuen hundred yeares. The warre betwixt *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, which in ſome ſort decayed the ſtate of the *Romayne* Empire, happened in the ſeuen hundred yeares after *Romes* foundation; and at the ſame time two periods met together, the one of fiue hundred from the beginning of the Conſuls, the other of ſeuen after the foundation of *Rome*. In like ſort about ſeuen hundred yeares after the deſtruction of *Carthage*, *Totilas* the king of the *Gothes*

Fraunce.

237. yeeres.

The periode of 700. yeares obſerued by ſome.

The Carthaginians had continued 700. yeares.

Cæſar and Pompey his warre was in the 700. yeare after Romes foundation.

Two Periodes met together.

Totilas.

Gothes robbed the citie of *Rome*, carying captiue with him the principall Lordes of the citie, which *Scipio* had long before foretolde, when *Carthage* was besieged. So likewise doe we reade that the *Moores* dealt with *Spayne*, the yeare after Christ seuen hundreth; after that were they all chased out by *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, grandfather by the mother to *Charles* the fifth. For example, of our times we see, that it is seuen hundred yeares past, that *Charles* the Great established the westerne Empyre, which period (considering the change of the times present) seemeth to threaten some great ruine, although there is nothing so of necessitie, but as it pleaseth God to dispose all things for the best. Now it is needefull likewise to examine more nearely the *Qualitie* of the foresaid periods, for it is questioned of at this day, if there be any such period necessarily certaine, and fatall for Empires: likewise why some fayle before their prefixed time; without expecting

The Moores with Spayne in the yeare after Christ 700.

Ferdinand.

Charles the great.

Note this.

The qualitie of periods.

Todin and others.

pecting their ordinarie fall. The Philosophers not knowing how to finde out the reasons, because of their incredulitie, haue so incombred their true vnderstandings, that they haue forged arithmetical ænigmes, other imposing to starres, and cœlestiall causes. But for the true vnderstanding of it, let vs consider the testimonies and examples of holy Scripture, besides the meere coniectures of heathen Philosophie. The vniuersall *period* of Empyres is declared vnto vs by the Prophet *Daniel*, speaking of the seauenty weekes, containing about fiue hundred yeares since the restoring of the Temple, after the returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of Christ. But because the period is not generall and perpetuall (by reason that we see some Empyres not attaine halfe their period;) notwithstanding we shall finde by the discourse and testimonie of histories, that the period (as by a diuine institution) is fatall to the most Empyres for their beginnings and endings,

Ignorance of true causes faineth false ones.

The touchstone of periodes.

According to our view.

dings, as may bee apparantly manifeſt, both by the examples alleadged before, & by many others here and there which may bee alleadged to that purpoſe. The reaſon of the difference in regarde of time, and the diuerſitie of change which happeneth in them, is likewiſe grounded vpon the holy ſcripture of Gods word: we haue ſaide before, that GOD giueth the Scepter of realmes as it pleaſeth him, and taketh them away as his pleaſure is. Likewiſe the change of kingdomes happeneth not by chaunce, but by diuine prouidence; by reaſon of the cauſes, which goe before the ruines of them, by meanes whereof, God ſo diſpoſeth of Realmes and Empyres, that whomſoeuer he hath inſtalled for gouernement, are by him defended with might and authoritie, as the eſpeciall gift of God, accompanied with many vertues requiſite thereunto, namely wiſdom, happines, goodwill, iuſtice, clemencie, &c. all which ioyntly ſuſtaine the pillars of

The change of Kingdoms not by chãce.

the Empyre: for it is written, *Misericordia & veritas custodiunt regem & clementia fulcitur thronus eius.* In such sort that the Common wealths of Kings and Princes defended with this authoritie, are for a long time, flourishing and in most prosperous estate. On the contrarie, if the Common wealth be gouerned by wicked kinges, vitious, or tyrants, and that the subiects to the imitation of their Prince, are infected with the same faultes, and plunged so deepe, that they can no way get out; then authoritie failes, vertues are abandoned, and punishment doth ensew: hereupon GOD hasteneth his iudgementes which preuent the reuolutions, and changes in that they had apparance to continew longer: he punisheth sinnes both of the Prince and people ordinarily by the chaunge and ruine of the Common wealth: for being not bound to the periods of time, he disanulleth, changeth, and altereth their estates, as it pleaseth him. This sheweth *Salomon* plainely

Prosperous Kingdomes.

The punishment of sinne is the change of the state.

God not tyed to periods.

plainly, where he sayth: *Because of Iniustice Kingdomes are translated from one place to another, for the sinnes of the land, some after others are made Princes, and by reason of a wise and understanding man, the Empire is more durable.* Thus wee may see the reason of the contrarietie in respect of the chaunge of the periods aboue mentioned. Master *Peucer* treating the difference of them, sayth, that three sorts of sins are noted in the holie scripture, which principally cause the ruines & changes of a common wealth. *Impietie* ruinating the Church: *Iniustice* corrupting the Common wealth: and *Lecherie* destroying the familie, with which *Pride* is intermedled, & their seueral harmes redound vnto all for this cause *Intemperancie* & *Pride* mixt, is noted by the Poet to bee most speciall for the subuerting of a state: *Nam cętera regna Luxuries vitijs odijsq; superbia vertit.* *Aristotle* ascribing the chaunge of Empyres to sinnes, comprehendeth them all vnder this one word of *inequalitie*, &

Wisdome the stay of a land.

M. Peucer.

Causes of the fall of Kingdomes three.

1. *Impietie.*
2. *Iniustice.*
3 *Lecherie.*

Aristotle.

Inequality.

& the difference of the degrees of honor, and dignities; and that for vertue, although not for religion. But the causes and occasions going before these chaunges, consist in the manners and actions of men, which all are not of the same sort, but exceeding diuers. And therefore the same author addeth and reproueth the former opiniõ that states are troubled by diuers meanes. I take it here not a thing impertinent (seeing the subiect of our matter) to stay a little and examine somewhat the opinion of some authors, which are willing to set down rules to iudge of the happenings for the euents and chaunges of Common wealths. Amongst others *Plato* ascribeth not this either to a celestiall influence, nor to the motion of starres, but to the dissolution of *Harmonie*. This is his opinion, but wee finde at this day a great contrarietie amongst the late writers, for the true vnderstanding of *Plato* his mind, and chiefly of the word *Harmonie*. Master *John Bodin* is of that minde,

Plato. Celestial influence.

Bodin. de Rep. lib. 4.

minde, that this *Harmonie* is to bee vnderstood of tunes & melodious sounds. For the better interpretation whereof, and the more to confirme his opinion, in the fourth booke of his Politicks he hath made the forme of a Triãgle with certaine numbers thereupon, to groũd a musicall harmonie; and so apply it to *Plato* his opinion. Wherein he is reprehended by Master *Augier Ferrier* Lord of *Castillon*, who making the distinction of the word *Harmonie*, to put away all equiuocatiõs, sayth, that the word *Harmonie* is a generall terme, applied to all things well beseeming: and to all good proportions: to all Common wealths well framed: to all families well ordered, and generally to euery thing iustly and orderly disposed: of perfect measure and of fine accorde. So the Phisitians call the best constitutions of bodie. The Musitians take the word otherwise, and referre it to tunes & melodious soundes: and so *Plato* saying that Common wealths come to ruine when

Harmonie.

Æquiuocation in Harmonie.

Plato expounded by M. Augier.

when the harmonie faileth, that is to ſay, when the policie, the lawes, the order, the vnion of the inhabitants is broken, vſeth the word in the firſt ſignification: for it is then that a way is open to troubles & ſeditions whatſoeuer. And ſpeaking to Maſter *Bodin*, thinke you (ſayth he) that *Plato* vnderſtood that of tunes & melodious ſounds, which *Plato* neuer thought of concerning the change of Kingdomes and Commonwealths? And giuing another reaſon againſt the former interpretation, hee ſaith, that all proportion is not ſong, or melodie, although otherwiſe it bee a harmonie, for his good ſtructure and equall figure: he alleadgeth onely this place for the defence of the true vnderſtanding of that which *Plato* wrote, and of the word *Harmonie*: for concerning the maine poynt, *Bodin* himſelfe is of that opinion, that changing or preſeruation of Common wealths, no way depends on the *Harmonie* of ſoundes. But a man ought more to feare it, when the

Harmonie not the ground of Kingdomes.

the citizens begin to ſtray from the naturall harmonie of good lawes wel ordered; and from manners rightly diſpoſed, to lawes, cuſtomes, and maners vnlawfull, wicked, and pernicious: although he denyeth not that *Harmonie* of ſounds hath a great force and effect to chaunge a Common wealth: for (ſayth he) we haue a memorable exãple of the *Cynethian* Common wealth in *Arcadia*, which hauing forſakẽ the pleaſure of Muſicke, ſoone after fell to ſeditions and ciuill warres, attributing the effect to *Muſicke*, to appeaſe and mollifie a people ſo barbarous and ſauage. By meanes whereof he confeſſeth that this cauſeth the naturall harmonie of well agreeing lawes, which cauſeth mẽ to continue in good and perfect order, and thereupon followeth the preſeruation of the Common wealth. It is verie likely that Muſicke hath a great force to appeaſe the minds of men, as diuers examples may giue vs witneſſe, namely of *Saul* and *Pythagoras*, who as well be-

The fall of a citie is the breach of good lawes.

The Cynethian commũ wealth.

The effect of Muſicke.

Pythagoras.

 fore

fore as after his ſleepe vſed a certaine *Muſicall* and melodious *Harmonie*: And as *Cenſorin* ſpeaketh, *Vt animum ſua ſemper diuinitate imbueret*: To furniſh the minde with the diuinitie of it. The ſame author ſayth, that *Aſclepiades* the Phiſitian vſed ordinarily a muſicall harmonie to call furious and phreneticall ſpirits to their own nature: and thereupon is it common (ſayth he) *Vt legionibus in acie dimicantibus metus mortis claſſico depellatur: & in nauis metu vel vt facilius laborem ſufferant à vectore Symphonia adhibetur.* Yet notwithſtanding he teacheth vs that Muſicke at this day hath not the effect to withſtand the ſedition of our age, becauſe ſhe hath loſt much of her anciēt nimblenes, by reaſon whereof Muſicke is not eſteemed of all equally in generall. On the other ſide we may obſerue the opinion of thoſe who would iudge of the chaunge of Kingdomes, (although they are founded vpon a ground ruinous) as thoſe who build vpon the *Horoſcopies* of townes, there-

Aſclepiades.

Muſicke expelleth the feare of danger.

Muſick not ſo nimble as it hath beene.

The Horoſcopy of cities.

thereby to iudge of Common wealths: Imagining that ſome Planets and fixt Starres are the workers and contriuers of the worldes aduentures, of which by reaſon of their incertitude I will not ſpeake, as being a thing meerely ridiculous, to referre the acts, manners of men, cities and particular euents, to any ſuch cauſe. Others as curiouſly obſeruing the ſame matter concerning the ſtate of kingdomes, haue not onely noted the yeares, but the moneths, as Maſter *John Bodin*, who ſaith, that if we marke the great and notable changes of ſtates and kingdomes, we ſhall finde the moſt parte to haue been in September, in which moneth the lawe of God gaue his beginning to all the world: and for better confirming his opinion, hee giueth diuerſe examples; amongſt others the great victorie of *Auguſtus* againſt *Marc. Anthonie*, which happened the ſecond day of September, being a contention for the greateſt Empire that euer was. *Paulus Æmilius*

bad rules to iudge by of chaunges.

A too vnprofitable curioſitie.

September.

Auguſtus.

M. Anthony conquered the 2. day of September.

 chan-

changed the great Empire of *Macedonia* into many popular estates, and sent King *Perseus* prisoner to *Rome*, obtaining the victorie the thirteenth of September: the fourteenth of September *Sultan Syliman* dyed before *Segett*, and the seuenteenth the towne was taken: the day following, *Sigismund* the father of *Augustus*, king of *Polonia*, put to flight the armie of the *Muscouits*: the day after *James* the king of *Scots* was slaine, with many of his Nobilitie by the English in battayle. He reciteth many moe examples besides, which we may reade in the fourth booke of his *De Republica*, where hee likewise affirmeth, that there haue been many great Princes who haue dyed in that moneth, and there he reciteth at least twentie. But me thinkes (as one well noteth) that this should giue too much credit to the moneth of September, to the preiudice of the other, in that it hath force to change estates, and that these curiosities are not to bee admitted of vs, but to bee referred rather

13. September.

September not so fatall as Bodin writeth.

to

to the historicall Calender, then to bee reputed a matter of sounde doctrine: for what moneth is there which may not be authorised with like examples? At least, it is changed from his former naturall force, in respect of that time present: for the greatest alterations and change of states at this day, and especially in the kingdome of *France*, haue happened betwixt December and August. The same may I alleadge likewise of the death of the greatest Lordes of *France*, who dyed in other moneths, and that the moneth of September hath almost lost his prerogatiue since. For concerning the Princes which haue dyed of late in *France*, and which haue brought notable change with them, (as we may see at this day) we shal finde none which dyed in the moneth of September, *Mounsieur* Duke of *Alenson*, and brother of the late King dyed in Iune, 1584. and the tenth of that moneth. The Prince of *Orange* (whose death can neuer be sufficiently lamented, nor the

In euery moneth some great states haue dyed.

In Fraunce the greatest alterations betwixt December and August.

The Duke of Alenson dyed in Iune.

The Prince of Orange.

A hatefull proscription.

manner hated and abhorred) likewise dyed the same day of Iuly following, whose death was violent and practised by the Spanish treason in that manner, that neuer historie in respect of the proscription hath made mention of the like; vnlesse it be of Pyrats, Robbers by sea, and such, who (according to the lawes of nations) haue euer been excluded from the benefit of faith, trueth, and loyaltie, and consequently from all saftie, for as *Tullie* writeth: *Pyrata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium, alioqui ius etiam bellicum fidesque iurisiurandi sæpe cum hoste seruanda.* For instance we haue the memorable proscription of *Crocotas* the arch pyrat, of whom *Augustus* the Emperor caused proclamation to be made by the sounde of his trumpet, that whosoeuer would take him, should haue a hundred & twentie thousand crownes. I onely alleadge this in respect of the most detestable murder of the worthie and vertuous Prince of *Orange*: not long

Crocotas.

A fact that for it the greatnes of Spaines fall cannot satisfie the measure of Gods wrath.

long after the death of these two great personages followed the fatall ruines of the Lowe Countrey. In one worde *Catherine* of *Medices*, the Duke of *Guyse* his brother, the Cardinall, the King of *France* last slayne by that false *Jacobin*, (a murther written in Tymes forhead, by the pen of æternitie to astonish all posteritie) these all happened from December to August: and therefore mee thinkes September hath small vertue to induce vs to respect it. But of all rules which I knowe worth the marking to iudge by of the falles of kingdomes, & Common wealths, I finde none more renounced by Master *Bodin*, then the numbers of seuen and nine, and those which arise from the multiplication of these two, and the perfect number of 496. which first is obserued by him, and he saith the reason is, because of the infinite wisdome of God, who hath so disposed all things by number, that kingdomes themselues after certaine yeres, haue ordinarilie come to ende, and that hu-

Katherine of Medices.

Vnder pretence of confession to kill a Prince neuer heard of before.

Bodin.

humane things fall not out by chance. I confesse indeede, concerning the critical dayes (whereof the seauenth day is called the King by *Galen*) that from thēce are drawne strange meruailes of numbers, applyed to weekes, moneths, yeares, ages, worlds; and so to townes, Common wealths, and Kingdomes: whereunto all that may bee referred which we haue spoken before of the periods of 500. of 250. of 700. yeares, although I finde such contrarietie in the examples alleadged by Master *Bodin*, for the confirming of these numbers, that they are not firmly to be relied on, as vndoubtedly true. For to the intēt to haue them established more stronglie, he alleadgeth the *Romane fasts*, who, as he sayth, can neither faile nor lye. But on the contrarie, *Onuphrius* who hath corrected them iustly, maketh a doubt. And as Master *Augier* sayth, he likewise would relye vpon the annales of *Fabius* pictor. And in the first place the better to confirme his Square, being the

Numbers no certaine grounds of vndoubted truth.

the roote of the fatall number, composed of twelue Twelues, multiplied by 12. he saith that the Monarchie of *Rome* continued a hundred and fortie yeares, which by the consent of all authors continued 244. yeares, or thereabout: and I finde another which saith it endured longer, namely, 245. yeares, which cannot serue to fulfil the *Cube* of the fatall number: but it is an exceeding fault to slippe a hundred yeares. Furthermore, to confirme one of the perfect numbers, namely, that of 196. and to shew the effect of it, he sayth, that since *Augustus* vnto *Augustulus* the last Emperour of the *Romanes*, the one whereof he calleth by the name of *Conquering*, the other of *Diminishing*, there was 496. yeares, where the Histories and Chronicles mention fiue hundred. On the other side, to the intent the better to ground his opinion of nũbers; as likewise to shewe their force, he alleadgeth that in holie scripture the law of GOD hath nothing so often as the 7. number;

Bodin greatly erred.

A 100. yeeres slipt by M. Bodin.

196.

All these shall be more plainely set downe in my booke of the vniuersall periods of all Kingdomes.

The 7. number.

be it either in the ſolemne feaſts, of the Sabboth, or the ſeauenth moneth; be it for the freeing of ſeruants, and leauing the ground without tilth, the ſeauenth yeare, which was the yeare of *Iubile*. But ſome doe reproue this, for as much as that the places out of ſcripture implie naturally a reſt or Sabboth, whereas on the contrarie the ſeauenth, alleadged for the fall, and change of kingdomes, is full of troubles, depending on humane actions, which number can neither be drawne out of the law of God, either in plaine tearmes, or by way of neceſſarie conſequent: yet for all this he confeſſeth, that of thoſe aboue named rules, indifferently obſerued of diuers authors, there is none of neceſſitie, whereupon wee may ſo iuſtly relye our ſelues, as to ſet down a certaine iudgement of things to come: ſeeing that the greateſt part of thoſe, who haue been willing to iudge of the meanes, & rules ſurely touching the foreſayd changes, they haue oftē ſtayed themſelues vpon Aſtro-

It is no Sabboth for a Kingdome to fall.

The 7. number not drawen out of Scripture neceſſarilie.

Vncertainty in Diuinations.

Astronomie, supposing that change of Kingdomes chiefliе to depende vpon starres, and celestiall causes, whereunto God hath sometimes (as it were) tyed himselfe for the shewing of things to come; wherein Satan as the Prince of the ayre, maketh to appeare oftentimes the euēts which resemble the true, that should happen: and hereupon he forgeth these false predictions. But seeing that by the effects of celestiall bodies, the vnlearned themselues are able to iudge of their force and vertue; notwithstanding from all antiquitie, there hath been found contrarietie of opinions, amongst them who will iudge soundly in *Astrologie*: wherefore it shall not bee impertinent to this purpose to handle a word or two for the examining of the certaintie or vncertaintie of them, thereby the better to vnderstand this which I haue in hand, the rather because *Astrologie* it selfe is placed amongst *Diuinations*. Some & of great learning would whollie make it fru-

A sleight of Satan.

The certaintie and vncertaintie of Astronomicall iudgements.

Astrologie.

An absurd error begotten of ignorance.

strate, and exclude it from the liberall Arts, as teaching vs prestigious & false surmises vnder trueths colour. Some are so foolish, that they giue vnto it the force of gouerning the whole world: namely, all that which may happen to men, not daring to attempt, or vndertake any thing in the world without the fauour of the starres and celestiall bodies. Others that haue better iudged of it haue not ascribed vnto them an absolute power, but an intermediate vertue amongst the rest. The reason of such as wholly contemne the Art without ascribing vnto it anie vertue, or force at all, is grounded vpon the vncertaintie of it, as being onely builded vpon vncertaine coniectures, without the true demonstration of things, whervpon onely trueth depends. But those that do auouch the vertue of them, suppose in the first place, that God sayd in the beginning that he made lights, that he placed them in the heauens, to separate night from day, and to be for signes

A foolish Superstition.

Zanch. Myzald.

No good reason.

Gen. 1.

and

and seasons for dayes and yeares. From this place they reason thus, that Nature made nothing in vaine, since that all creatures are made for some certaine end, but these creatures daylie doe the same workes by their order and course appoynted them of God, and the end of that which they doe is their operation; now the starres doe by the order of nature that which the Art of Astronomie saith hath bin found out by experience, and afterward approued by many reasons. Then the end of the starres is that for which they were created. Likewise the demonstrations of things are taken from celestiall causes, and their effects, obserued of a long timed experience, by the influence, intension, remission, accesse and recesse of starres: for euen as in the seede the vertue of those things is hid which it bringeth foorth, euen so in the starres is hid the force of that likewise giuing the effect of a naturall elementarie change, which is incontinently perceiued of them who before haue

No good reason.

An vnlike similitude.

ſearched by ſupputation the cæleſtiall motions, and haue attained by long experience to knowe the courſe of things, with the euents and effects. The reaſon is, for euen as wee iudge of the force of things which wee feele, by their effect, euen ſo wee iudge of the force of Starres by the experience we haue from the long reach of their effects. And although their force being hid vnto vs, is not ſo apparantly diſcouered and clerely ſeene, notwithſtanding the ordinarie ſignes ſhew them, and the common obſeruations of long experience make thē to bee eaſilie knowne; ſo that thoſe who haue this foreſaid experience, may eaſily foretell by an euident coniecture, the ordinarie effect of the Starres. But thereby to foretell of the natiuities of men which the Greekes cal *pronoſticon Geneſeon*, that which may happen vnto them in ſuch a yeare, or ſuch a day, it is hard for a man to giue credit to them; ſo that it be not for the ſearching of naturall cauſes in that manner,

It is impoſſible to haue ſuch experience.

This poſſible & common.

Meere toies and vaine fables.

as

as wee haue ſpoken before. For as Maſter *Beza* ſpeaketh in a certaine epiſtle, of iudiciall Aſtrologie: *If any one would haue foretolde that the Empyre of Auguſtus ſhould haue endured ſo long, it ſhould likewiſe haue beene neceſſarie to haue diuined what ſhould haue happened of Brutus, Caſſius, Lepidus, and Anthonie, his aduerſaries, which would haue brought a man into a labyrinth not eaſely auoyded.* So likewiſe ſpeaking of the vſage of the former ſearching, hee referres them onely to complexions, and diſpoſitions of bodies, by meanes whereof, one may iudge if ſuch a man will become melancholicke, or whether he will be ſubiect to ſuch or ſuch ſickeneſſes. This opinion is confirmed ſomewhat by that of *Diogenes* the *Stoike*; notwithſtanding the Phiſitians themſelues are able to iudge of all things aboue mentioned by ſignes, and *Symptoms* more certaine, and yet thereof the profite is not great. Others who vnder a ſhewe of religion, haue contemned the Aſtrologicall ſci-

Beza his opinion of Iudiciall Aſtrologie.

How far one may iudge of particular men.

Phiſitions.

ence,

The art contemners of this age, misvnderstand Ieremie.

ence, alledge for reason the place of *Ieremie* saying: *Let them stand and saue thee the Southsayers of heaue, which gaze on the starres, and cast the moneths to tell thee of things to come*: yet notwithstanding the true meaning of that place is no whit to condemne, or detest the foresaide science, but onely the superstitious abuse of it, which hath been brought in by little and little, by those who by meanes of their Diabolicall artes, and vnder the hope of some base gayne, haue corrupted the true knowledge of it. Others erroniouslie haue sought out all the secrets of the world, by meanes of cælestiall causes, in such sort, that continuing in the same superstition, they are at the length fallen into so great abuse, that they will gouerne all their actions, according to the course and demonstration of Starres, preferring their Pronostications before Gods promises. From hence proceedeth the superstitious elections of workes, good or bad, gouerned according to the twelue signes

The abuse of Astronomie.

He that yeeldeth himselfe to beleeue Pronostications, giueth himselfe the 1. of Ianuarie to be a foole al the yeare after.

ſignes of heauen : in like manner the dayes fortunate, and vnfortunate, with the angles and circles forged by the Philoſopher *Pythagoras*, to knowe by the compoſition of numbers and letters which it conteined (intermediating the obſeruation of the day of the moneths, and the Planets) all that any man deſired to know. To conclude, from hence is it come to paſſe, that ſome are perſwaded that the ſoules abide in the Moone: others were perſwaded that as ſoone as ſhe loſt her light, ſhe was inchaunted: and for that cauſe in olde time they were wont to ſound Trumpets, Tabrets, Cornets and other inſtruments to remedie that, to the intent to driue away thoſe inchauntments: or (as *Lipſius* vpon *Tacitus* ſaith) *Ad leuandos lunæ labores*, To eaſe the moone of her trauailes. *Plutarch*, *Liuie* & others haue made mention alſo of it. And *Iuuenall* ſaith, *Cum fruſtra reſonant æra auxiliaria Lunæ*. Furthermore, many haue adored and acknowledged the Planets for their gods, chiefely the

My L Henry Haward in lib. of ſuppoſed Prophets.

Errours frõ hence.

Lib. 1. Annal.

Ignorance of true cauſes brought this.

Sunne, whereunto all the gods of the *Panims* may bee referred and agree as *Macrobius* noteth, and as Histories are full. The tractes and steppes (as it were) of this Idol-madnes, may appeare in the lawes of the *Romans*, *Titul. de Cœlicolis & Iudæis*. Likewise in the Scripture, in the 7. and 47. chapter of *Jeremie*, God conuert all those who yet worship them in many places of the world. To the intent then that we may soundly iudge of Astrologie, let vs conclude (following the common opinion) that Astrologers generally cannot foretell any other thing by the knowledge of their art, but that which concerneth the constitution of the ayre, and the particular change of that, according to the demonstration of the cœlestiall signes. But concerning those tokens and signes that appeare extraordinarily in the heauens, as Comets, and such like strange apparitions, (although the prediction of their effect depend sometimes on cœlestiall causes) yet notwithstanding in my

Cœl. Rhoding.

What Astronomers can doe by their art.

Comets.

my opinion ſuch ſignes are more certaine and ſure in their operation, to ſignifie the change and euents of Common wealths then any other; for if wee would ſearch the hiſtories of all times, wee ſhall finde that neuer Comet appeared, which vndoubtedly brought not after it ſome generall or particular change, and moſt often the ſad and lamentable euents of warre, plague, famin, deluges, the death of great perſonages, and the like; but by reaſon that theſe fall out extraordinarilie, ſo likewiſe their effects are extraordinarie. Thoſe that are curious to knowe the euents which at all times haue been obſerued, & wherof the hiſtories are full, may read the catalogue of wonders, written in latine by M. *Fritſchius*, and imprinted at *Noremberge*, where he recites abundance in all kindes. And of late time in reſpect of thoſe in the Lowe Countries, they may feele the effect by their ſcarce well tuned iarres, in the middeſt of their beſt townes, which begã immediatly af-

Zanch. de oper. lib. 3. cap. 2.

And Eraſtus de Cometis.

ter the Comet in the yeare 1577. and the earthquake which followed, which is alſo numbred amongſt ſtrange and prodigious ſignes. A certaine Mathematician in his booke of the diſcourſe, and Pronoſtication by him made, concerning a Comet ſeene in the yeare 1581. ſaith amongſt other things, that the Comet in the yeare 1577. (whereof wee ſpake) was in the *Horoſcope* of *Don Iohn*, and in the ſixt houſe of *Mounſieur* the Duke of *Alenſon*, which two had both been partakers of the ſame fortune, if credit might haue been giuen to that. Certaine it is, that Comets and extraordinarie ſignes of heauen doe daylie portend ſome noueltie, good or euill for ſome. The redemption of mankinde was preſaged by an extraordinarie ſigne of Heauen, in forme of a Starre; which guided the wiſe men of the Eaſt to adore and worſhip him, who was deſcended from heauen, to drawe vs from eternall damnation. And in the time of the Emperor *Auguſtus*,

Earthquakes

A Comet. 1581.

No vndoubtedcertainetie in Comets.

Starres frō time to time haue foreſhewed wonders to come.

Augustus, before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, many signes extraordinarily appeared in heauen, in such manner, that all the Diuines small and great were in armes (as it were) and flockt together to aduise vpon it. And then whē as the Massacre continued throughout al France a new starre begā to appeare in the heauē, whereof the Lord *Plesseyes* speaking, saith, that since the creation of the world the like was not seene but at the birth of our Sauiour Iesus Christ: Al the world marked it, for 3. yeares together: al the Astronomers admyred it, & remaine yet astonished. The wise of the world who in a deepe irreligious policy thought al things to be eternal, now began to worship a Creator. And what shall wee thinke (sayth he) but that it signifieth the newe birth of Christ in earth by the preaching of the Gospell? Wee reade also of a certaine flame of fire which shewed it selfe miraculously in the heauen right aboue the armie of *Licinius* the Emperour of the East, at the same

De ver. Chr. Relig.

Heauens signes serue to confute Atheists.

Licinius.

ſame time when hee loſt the battell a-
gainſt *Conſtantine* the Great, then when
there was queſtion for an vniuerſall
chaunge of the Romane Empire, and a
totall deſtruction of Gods Church: for
the one maintained the Chriſtians, the
other tyrannized vpon them, and in the
cruelleſt manner put them to death.
Hereupon followed a moſt bloudy and
deadly warre betwixt theſe two. It was
then or a little before that *Conſtantine*
had ſeene in the heauen the victorious
Croſſe of Chriſt, whereof *Euſebius* ſpea-
keth ſo aſſuredly: For when he would
Maxent. combate, *Maxence* hauing ſeene the
foreſayd Croſſe with this inſcription a-
bout it, *In this ſigne ſhalt thou ouercome
thy enemies:* he cauſed then the Chri-
ſtians to come, and enquired of them
concerning our Lord and Sauiour Ie-
ſus Chriſt, of his natiuitie, of his paſ-
ſion, of his reſurrection. The ſcripture
likewiſe teacheth vs, that the ſignes &
Luk. 21. tokens from heauen threaten vs and
bring ſtrange puniſhments, as appea-
reth

reth by the place of *Jeremie*, where he ſayth, *A ſignis cœli nolite timere*: which ſome would haue expounded, that wee ſhould not relie vpon the ſtarres, nor haue any care of that which they may ſignifie: theſe are ſuch as are moſt willing to contemne the arte and skill of Aſtronomie. The meaning of *Jeremies* words are no ſuch thing: for he would not ſeeme either to contemne or condemne the ſignes of heauen, thereby to deſpiſe Aſtronomie, but only to admoniſh the faithfull fearing God, to the intent they might remaine confirmed & ſtrengthened in Gods promiſes, without being diſcouraged or fearefull in their mindes by the ſight of the ſignes in heauen. On the other ſide, a man may ſet downe the ſame iudgement of many other ſtrange ſignes, which are ſhewed in the heauens contrarie to the courſe of nature, as Armies, Dragons, raining downe of bloud, fire, fearefull Eclipſes, and ſuch like, which bring often times after them like chaunges to their

Ieremie miſconſtrued.

Wonders in the aire to what they ſerue.

their owne ſtrangenes. (*Cleanthes* the Philoſopher hauing marked foure cauſes wherby a man may know the mightie puiſſance of the gods, hath put the extraordinarie ſignes of the heauēs for the third cauſe: the Greekes called this kind of Diuination (*Teratoſcopia*) that is to ſay, a monſtrous and ſtrange viſion. But when theſe and ſuch calamities are whole and entire, as it happened to the townes of *Sodom*, of *Gomorra*; (which in *Abrahams* time were made a lake of Brimſtone) and ſince that to the townes of *Helice* and *Bura*: that change is then as it were from death to life, & by conſequent farre more great and more notable then of a Monarchie turned into an *Ariſtocratie* and *Democratie*, or any other kind of common wealth; and therfore well deſerueth to bee added to the chapter of chaunges, and ruines of Common wealths. The foreſayd Catalogue containeth many ſorts as well of townes ſwallowed by the earth, as conſumed by thunder from heauen, and otherwiſe;

Τερατοσκοπια.

therwise; Inundations vniuersall, and particular, are of this sort. Furthermore wee may here adde to the Diuinations aboue sayd, the great Coniunctions of the hye Planets, which are principallie set to play together, thereby to iudge of the chaunge and fall of a Commonwealth. And although these depende likewise vpon Astrologie, yet notwithstanding these seeme to bee more certaine and better grounded then any other particular predictions of the stars, by reason of their reuolution and ordinarie running euerie eight hundred yeare, or there about, according to the opinion of Master *Augier Ferrier*, which as a man would think haue shewed their effect (as it were) to the touch, and to the eye, with an astonishment of the wise, although that draw not with it any meere necessitie. For we must not think the necessitie of their operation such, as the Astrologers did say, in the yeare 1524. hauing foretold that there shuld happen a Coniunction, like to that of

Inundations.

Coniunctions of Planets.

No absolute necessitie.

1524.

the Deluge, (although ſome yet are of that minde that there was no Coniunction, and that the whole earth ſhould bee ouerflowed with water. By reaſon whereof they haue made themſelues ridiculous to the whole worlde with a number of Infidels, who built vp pillars to ſaue themſelues. It is alſo for the ſame matter that Maſter *Bodin* ieſteth ſo at *Cyprian Leouice* in his fourth booke of his Common wealth, who for the great Coniunction in the yere 1584. was bold to pronoſticate the ſecond comming of the ſonne of God in his glorious maieſtie. Many notable chaunges, which happened here and there by reaſon of great Coniunctions, may bee ſeene in *Bodin* in the ſame place. By theſe rules and meanes aforeſayd, wee may ſettle a certaine iudgement for the chaunge that is to happen to Common wealths, Realmes and Empires.

Ridiculous feare ſo in the yeare 1588.

And therefore E. Zing. in his tables made our period to be 1584. *whom I ſhall confute in my booke of periods.*

Then Chriſt as he was ſhould not haue beene ignorant of it.

Lib 4. de Repub.

Now remaineth the laſt poynt, which principally hath moued me to alleadge thoſe places, concerning this ſubiect matter

matter which we haue in hand: that is, of Dreames, which the diuell spreadeth as a meanes, to make his illusions preuaile, to make his craftie subtilties and false predictions of things to come to be of more force, knowing that men by an exceeding curiositie would force themselues, by vnlawfull meanes, to finde out the knowledge of the effect of them. Then because there are diuers sorts of Dreames, wee will make a distinction of the chiefe of them. And to intēt to draw out the better knowledge of their difference, I thinke it good to diuide them into foure parts, (and the rather to auoyde the pluralities of degrees, which authors haue made in the handling of them) that is to say, Naturall, Diuellish, Diuinatorie (or as the Greekes call it *Simantica*) and Diuine. The naturall Dreames are when things before either seene, heard, or touched, or fore-thought of, & afterward as repeated in the phantasie, are represented sleeping, bringing the visions which

Of dreames.

Mans curiositie neuer staied.

Naturall Dreames. 1.

before haue been imprinted by a continual motiō of the ſpirits, which ſometime are ſtrange and monſtrous, according to the diſpoſition of the bodie, with a certaine demonſtration of forms and figures of the thing we dreame of: and theſe are properly called naturall Dreames & common. *Cicero* ſpeaking of the dreame of *Scipio*, giueth the ſame definition: *Fit enim fere* (ſayth he) *vt cogitationes ſermoneſq; noſtri pariant aliquid in ſomno tale quale de Homero ſcribit Ennius, de quo videlicet ſæpiſſimè vigilās ſolebat cogitare & loqui.* Diuelliſh dreames are of two ſorts. Firſt when they happen by inſpiration of the diuel, without cauſe of him that dreameth, tending continually to an ill end, to wickednes, to lyes, to Idolatrie, or to affright the people, with ſome vaine feare, or ſad euents to come, as wee reade of *Caſſius Parmenſis*, who hauing followed the partie of *M. Anthony* againſt the Emperour *Auguſtus*, betooke him after the battell toward *Athens*, and that night being

In melancholy men.

De Somno Scipionis.

Amans ſibi Somnia fingit.

2. *Diuelliſh Dreames.*

Valer. Max. lib. 1. 7.

being in bed without all feare (as hee was) dreamed, that he saw before him a blacke man with a fauchion, long head, and with an ilfauored beard; and asking him what he was, he answered him, *Cacodæmon*, that is an euill spirit: *Cassius* being afraide as well of the name, as the shape, called his seruants, and demaunded if they had seene such a man, either enter or goe out: then when they tolde him they had seene no such, hee betooke himselfe againe to sleepe. Incontinently after, the same spirit appeared vnto him againe the second time. *Cassius* seeing that, betooke him no more to sleepe, commaunding his men not to goe from him. But the historie saith, that soone after he was put to death by the commaundement of the Emperor. The vision of *Marcus Brutus* was like to this, then when the Diuell appeared vnto him in a moste hideous shape. The other sort of diuelish dreames are, when as the men themselues are causes of them, as the heathen were in times

Marke it.

Satans illusion.

A second sort of diuelish dreames.

past by meanes of their vowes and sacrifices full of idolatrie, which they made by the instigation of Sathan, who went to meete them in appoynted places, as wee reade of those who went in the night to the Temples, couered with the skinnes of beastes, which they had slaine to idols, with a full perswasion, that all that they dreamed should bee reputed for a most vndoubted oracle: And thus tooke they their beginning. The answers which the diuell gaue to the heathen in diuerse sortes, namely by *voyce*, by *dreames*, & by other meanes of them whom hee hath inchaunted, to the imitation of these are instituted, as by tradition those oblations which are at this day to Saintes in the Church of Rome, to the intent to obtaine some remedie for their maladie, and it makes them answer by hanging downe of the head of him, that is put in the image, to the example of those ill spirits, who allured men sometimes within these statues by art Magick. These diuelish answers

Heathen superstition.

By shaking the head.

An imitation of the heathen.

swers aboue saide, they termed oracles, and they had diuers names. Amongst many others whereunto histories giue credit, are renowned that of *Trophonius & Seraphis* in *Egypt*, that of *Delphos* in *Greece*, ordained to the example of diuine Oracles: for God declared himselfe vnto his Prophets three manner of waies, namely by *vision walking*, by *dreames sleeping*, and by open *voyce* without *all obscuritie*. The two first were with a certaine rauishment of the spirit, and the transporting (as it were) of all the sence by a reuelation. The third without trouble, either of sence, or spirite. But concerning the reuelation done by *Vrim* and *Thummim*, to the intent to knowe the successe of things, it may appeare by the text of the Bible, that that manner of prophesying was not so common, nor continued so long, as those aboue mentioned, for it was one of the principall which fayled at the restoring of the second Temple. Then it is a thing most cleare, that Satan will imitate

Oracles.

Trophonius den.
Seraphis.
Delphos.

1. *Vision.*
2. *Dreames.*
3. *Voyce.*

When Vrim and Thummim ceased.

mitate all manner of fashions, the better to abuse men vnder a pretence of holines: as when God shewed himselfe to *Moyses* in the burning bush, & when the voyce came from Heauen at Christs Baptisme, whereby wee were let to vnderstand, that he was the sonne of God. In like manner are inuented the answers of Satan, which hee giueth by dreames, to the imitation of diuine dreames, as that of *Pharoh*, *Joseph*, and others from GOD. To conclude, all practises and sleights of Satan, to the intent to deceiue mankinde, haue beene inuented vnder the shadowe of the institutions and workes ordained of God, and therfore iustly he may be called Gods Ape.

A perfect Ape.

Exod.3.
Math.3.17.

Gen 41.

3. Diuelish Magick, and all those kindes of it (by reason of the association which wicked spirites haue with men, to the example of this diuine conference,) chiefely that which is done by recitall of certaine charmes, namely the papisticall consecrations themselues, in respect of salte, water, and hallowed oyle;

The original of al charms.

from

from whence all had their beginning. For if wee would sift out narrowly the meanes which the *Chaldeans*, and *Assyrians* vsed in their Magick arts to call out the Diuell, we shall finde that they vsed as well light, waxe, candels, and holy wordes, as the priests doe at this daye. There haue been also of other nations, as *Greekes*, and *Romans*, who obserued other sortes of superstitions and idolatries by them to forge their diuinations, which they did to the imitation of the diuine sacrifices, by the inspection of the intrales of beastes which were slaine, namely the liuer, the hart, and the gall, which the Latins call *Extispicium, quasi extorum inspectio.* Finallie, from hence came it in former time that they haue sacrificed humane flesh as it is apparant: a thing which was ordinarie long since in the westerne *Ilands*, and chiefely with the *Normanes* and *Danes*, who alwaies in the moneth of Ianuary made an oblation yearely of ninetie nine men. The *Romans* had in singular e-

Satan indeed careth for none of all these.

Extispiciũ.

Cruell Idolatry.

Barbarous sacrifices.

ſtimation the art of diuining by the flying of birds, and chiefely by the *Augures*, who had the young ones to that ende nouriſhed in Cages, to ſerue them for their vſes: but in the ende they were ſo mocked with them, as *P. Claudius* did well ſhew then, when he would know the ſucceſſe of the battaile by ſea, which was to bee performed in the time of the *Punicke* warre, and when the poulterers toulde him the young ones woulde not come out of the Cage, he commaunded to caſt them into *Tyber*, ſaying, *Quia eſſe nolunt bibant*, because they will not eate let them drinke. And *Tullie* with diuerſe others haue mocked him all they could. I onely alleadge theſe places to this end, to touch by the way the ground of theſe Diuinations and diueliſh ſuperſtitions, which are entred into the world vnder the couer of religion, & yet notwithſtāding remaine ſo ingrafted in many places, that they can hardly be rooted out. But I intend not to entreat particularlie of many other kindes of Diuinations,

Augures.

Poulterers.

Vanities end.

Moſt common at this day.

as

as *Orneomantie, Hieroſcopie, Hidromantie,* and many like kindes, becauſe theſe properly cannot ſerue to iudge of the change, or ruine of Common wealths, contenting my ſelfe to note out thoſe which concerne the ſubiect of this particular matter. Then it is certaine, that al theſe abominable impieties are by ſucceſſe of time ſo increaſed, that the *Romane* Emperors were conſtrained for the weale publike to forbid them vpon payne of their liues: as appeareth by the draught of the *Code de pagan Sacraf & Temp.* where the ſecond lawe maketh mention of the inſpection of intrails, and by the 13. lawe *ad legem Cor. de Sicarijs,* may bee ſeene likewiſe the forbidding of the foreſaide ſacrifices, whereof there is mention in the title *De pagan Sacraf.* contrarie to the opinion of *Accurſius.* Moreouer, they haue forbidden all ſortes of Diuinations in generall, by the title of the *Code de Malef & Mathemat. & cæteris.* By reaſon whereof the Mathematician of the Duke of *Saxonie,*

Vnlawfull Aſtrologie forbidden by the ancient lawes.

Accurſius ened.

A cholerick Gentleman.

John VVaynstler complaineth greatly, saying, that the lawmakers make no distinction of *Sorcerers*, *Magitians*, (*heiromants*, & such like wicked Arts, but haue vnder a generall law forbidden all sorts of Diuination. But although the lawe generally forbid, yet notwithstanding the intent of the law-maker is not such, that he would wholly frustrate the true and lawfull Science of Astronomie, (whereof he maketh no expresse mention) but only the abuse of it and other Arts of the Heathen, ful of superstition, as that of *Aruspices* & of the *Augures*; for thē they foūd out 1000. Arts to deceiue the Idiots; namely, the Diuiners and other Impostors being in so great abundance, that the law after the naming of a great part of thē, & not knowing the true distinction, saith, *Et cæteros quos maleficos ob facinorum multitudinem vulgus appellat:* and for this abuse the Mathematicians likewise are comprehended in them. Saint *Augustine* giuing the true interpretatiō of the word *Mathematician*, by

A thing not thought of by any law.

Former times full of them.

by reason of the abuses aboue mentioned, he compareth them to those whom at that time they called *Genethliacos*, and sayth, *Perniciosæ superstitionis homines, qui Genethliaci propter natalium dierum considerationē, nunc autem vulgo Mathematici vocātur.* *Tully* speaketh expresly that the Mathematicians agree with the Soothsayers, in that which concerneth the art of Diuining. *Bodin* speaking of the lawes contained in the title aboue sayd, compareth thē with Sorcerers, whereas they are called enemies of nature, enemies of mankind, witches for the great wickednesses they commit, and by reason of the exceeding imprecations which the lawes haue against them, the like whereof are in no law to be found but against Sorcerers. That cruell plague (sayth the law) may be extinguished & consumed. And although that the lawe, *Item apud vers. Si quis Astrologus D. de iniurijs*, seemeth willingly to take indifferently the Astrologer for the Diuiner, Magitian, or like abuser, yet notwithstanding it

Austin.

Too great frowardnes to say there are no Witches, Sorcerers, & such like.

Discou. of witches.

Vnlawfull Diuination forbidden.

must be rightly vnderstood, and according to the proper words of the text, namely, *Qui aliquam illicitam Diuinationem pollicetur*, onely taxing there the abuse and vnlawfull meanes vsed, vnder the cloake of Astrologie: wherefore he reporteth that lawe, *Si quis aliquid D. de pœnis*, like as the former law *De extraord. cognit. vers. Medicos*, sayth, that he is not to be called a Phisition which either by exorcising or inchaunting cureth; so likewise he is not to be called an Astrologer, who abuseth his arte and the notable skill of Astronomie. We shall find also that the word *(Chaldæus)* is often vsed for a Sorcerer or Inchaunter, yet notwithstanding it doth not followe thereupon in general it must be vnderstood so of all.

Note this.

The Dreames which wee call Diuinatorie or presaging, differ from naturall Dreames, in that these happen not by reason of the motion, or abundance of any humor, or other qualitie of the bodie, but by a singular vertue and influence

ence of the ſtarres, who (as it were) moued with an vnderſtanding of things to come, affect likewiſe the braine of him that dreameth by a commixtion & coniunction of the firſt qualities, which are betwixt thē from the beginning, in ſuch ſort that the Dreamer being as it were aduertiſed, hee imprinteth that in his braine, and ſo continually thinking to knowe the euent, by little and little, the formes and figures of things to come repreſent themſelues vnto his ſpirit. Somtimes that is reueiled by a compariſon of things to come, as the Dreame of King *Aſtyages*, who dreamed that from the wombe of his daughter *Madanes* came forth a Vine ſo great & large, that it couered with the ſhadowe of it all the parts of his Realme. The like haue we of *Madian*, who dreamed that he ſawe a peece of barlie bread which turned into the Campe of *Madian*, and came to his pauillion and beate it to make it fall, and then returned when the pauillion was fallen. The ſame may appeare

How ſtarres worke in our Dreames.

The dreame of Aſtyages.

Iudg. cap. 7.

peare in the Dreames of *Nabuchadnezzar* (in respect of things prefigured) in the forme of a high Image and a great, as it is set downe in *Daniel*. But for so much as the manner of Dreames aboue sayd seemeth to be very strange and altogether vncredible, by reason of the *Sympathie* spoken of before: and that there be some skilful mē, who (holding it impossible that which some go about to haue to bee beleeued of that *Sympathie* betwixt earthly & heauenly things) are perswaded it is impossible from thence to haue such intelligence. Others who are of opinion that this *Sympathie* both may bee and is, suppose for instāce the *Sympathie* betwixt the starres of the North and the Adamant stone; whereas wee see continually that those starres draw that stone: Likewise we see that certaine flowers open and shut after the approaching & departing of the Sunne: That the Nightingall and the Cuckow both grow hoarse at the rising of (*Syrius*) the Dogge starre: that the humours

The Adamant.

The Cuckowe.

The Nightingall.

humours abound in the full Moone, & afterward diminish: In like manner that some constitutions of starres can gouerne and maintaine, and on the contrarie others corrupt the humours in some parts of the bodie. And for confirmation hereof they alleadge vs a reason, that God in the beginning hath giuen and ingrafted in euery of his creatures made by his owne hand, a speciall vertue and a secret propertie, which are hid and contained in the seedes of them, from whence successiuely are procreated all corporall things, receiuing their forme by a commixtion and temperature of qualities, according to that order of nature which God hath appoynted. And although the starres so drawing the Adamant stone, haue not a power or vertue to giue entyre formes to creatures themselues, yet notwithstanding the world below, being compassed with the heauen, as it is, and all that it containeth, as wel in respect of things created, as generated, they are all go-

Luna.
Iupiter.
Saturne.
Sol.

Note this.

Zanch.

uerned and maintained (by a diuine power) of a celestial light; and the especial vertue of the aire, which not only shines through darknes (as the common sort doe imagine) but containeth in it an excellent and diuine vertue, sustaining with a life-making heate al the creatures of the world, according to the course of nature: for (as one sayth) the heauen so commãdeth the earth, as God commandeth the Angels, the Angels men, men beasts, the soule the bodie, the reason the appetite. Neither must we think that these creatures are onely maintained by their proper seede and the mixture of the qualities aboue said, but likewise that there is another vertue proceeding from the heauenly light, which doth sustaine & gouerne them in most miraculous manner; the vaines and arteries shining like little flames in naturall bodies, doe shew vnto vs plainly the spirituall vertue that is in them: likewise in men the spirits and the naturall heate which sustaines them: for euen as the

Austin.

Influence and celestial heate.

Iupiter Stator Ascent. in cap. 13. lib. 2. Gell.

A fit similitude.

the light of the fire comming out of the flint constantly shewes it selfe vntill that be consumed which is enlighted, euen such a light commeth from aboue, which gouerneth and sustaineth as a nurse all the liuing creatures belowe. Master *Barlasse* in the second day of his weeke speaketh fitly to that purpose, and saith.

Cela se voit a leil dans le brulant tison.
Son feu court vers sa natale Maison
Son ar vole en fumee, en cendre chet sa terre
Son eau bout dans ses naus, vne semblable querre.
Tient en paix nostre corps, la Terre est sa chaire.
Semee de maint os, au lieu de maint rocher.
Dans les vitaux esprits, git son ar, & sa flamme.
Dans les humeurs son flot, et le ciel dans son amé.

Then from this coniunction and heauenly allyance proceedeth a meruailous concord, and naturall agreement betwixt heauenly and earthly bodies. *The force of the bodies heauenly in these earthly.* There is no man who findeth not in himselfe the vertue proceeding from the Sunne beames, which in the exposition of *Iosephs* dreame is called the *Father* and *nourisher*, as it is written in the second booke of the antiquities of the Iosephus de antiqu. lib. 2.

Iewes: The bodies & ſpirits of all things are recreated by the riſing of the Sunne. The ſoule is (as it were) awaked with a certaine nimblenes, finding a wholeſome fine time by the good diſpoſition of the ayre. On the contrarie we growe drowſie, melancholie, and (as it were) in a deadly lethargie, by the indiſpoſition and change of the ayre. The naturall conſtitution and complexion of men changeth after the manner of the foure ſeaſons in the yeare; wee ſee a mans ſpirits to bee more quicke and nimble at one time then another, without any manifeſt diſcerning of cauſe why. It is the aboue named heauenly light, which awaketh in vs ſome part of that vertue, which ſhe lent vs, at our firſt beginning: hereby happeneth the change of flowers, of the beaſtes before mentioned, of the inclination of the Adamant towards the North. In like ſorte if we would ſuppoſe the foreſaid coniunction and naturall agreement which is in the creatures aboue mentioned, we ſhould finde it no whit

We follow the aire.

We follow the yeare.

Note this.

whit ſtrange: the Sympathie which is ſaide to bee betwixt ſome heauenly and earthly bodies, which is made by an interchangeable touch of the ſuppoſed naturall coniunction, conſiſting in the agreement of their formall qualities. Thus much of Sympathie. *The ground of Sympathy.*

Notwithſtanding all that wee haue ſaid, both concerning the ſingular vertue of the ſtarres, cauſing the foreſaide preſaging dreames, as alſo in reſpect of Aſtrologie it ſelfe, there is an opinion at this day quite contrarie. For *Nicodem Friſchlin*, a late Aſtronomer holdeth it as a Paradoxe, that none of all the ſtarres haue any vertue either generall, or ſpeciall vpon the things belowe, and hee derideth all thoſe, who think the Starres haue vertue to warme, to coole, to drie, to moyſten. And in like manner, that neither *Aries*, *Leo*, *Taurus*, or any other of the celeſtiall ſignes, haue any force to affect the things belowe. Moreouer, that the art of Aſtrologie, and all the credit it hath, vntill *An excellēt writer.* *Vnlikely in my opinion.*

A great error, and a foule ouersight of a Scholler.

present time was inuented by the craft and subtletie of the *Chaldaans* and *Arabians*, who (following the fables of Poets) haue themselues imposed the names to the signes in the *Zodiacke*, and to the other starres which are obserued at this day, whereat the heathen themselues scoffed, as *Ouid.*

Vacca sit an Taurus non est cognoscere promptum.
Pars prior apparet, posteriora latent.
Or Cowe or Bull, if it be, it cannot well be knowne,
The former parts are seene, the hinder be not snowne.

An vnsound conclusion.

By meanes whereof, hee maintaines it a thing impossible, either to measure the height of the heauen aboue, or the depth of the earth belowe: according to the testimonie of the Prophet *Jeremie*, saying: *If the heauens can be measured, or the foundations of the earth bee searched out beneath, then will I cast off, &c.* But amongst other particular reasons, which hee alleadgeth to the ende to confirme his opinion, hee saith further in these wordes (which I thinke conuenient to alleadge.) *Primò Deus ille mundi opifex, in alium vsum stellas non creauit nisi vt noctu luce-*

lucerent, & facem quandam hominibus atque animantibus præberent, & vt motu certa Temporum interualla describerent: denique vt ornatu suo nos de sapientissimo architecto tanquam signa Diuinæ prudentiæ Cõmonefacerent vt omnia boni causa fecisset, that is: First, God the vniuersall creator of all the world, made the starres for no other vse but that they might shine in the night, and to affoorde (as it were) a kinde of light both to man and beaste, and withall to distinguish by motion the difference of times. Lastly, with his excellencie, to admonish vs of the wisdome of the workeman, as one that made all thinges for some good ende. He denyeth also, that the change of the ayre, and the season, are caused by the particular starres: so that this new Astronomer ascribeth all the force of the starres, to the Sunne; and not particularlie to the vertue of any speciall starre which borroweth light from it. Hereunto hee addeth diuers other reasons, which may be found in the third booke of

A mistaking of the Creation.

of his Astrologie: Neither is it materiall though (saith hee) it come to passe sometimes as they haue foretolde, for God so testifieth that it shall happen, Deutero.13. *For if there rise in the middest of thee a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreames, who giue thee a signe or miracle, and that the signe or miracle which he tolde thee come to paße, thou shalt not heare the wordes of this Prophet or dreamer: for the Lorde your God tempteth you to see if you loue them. For it is he onely that knoweth all things to come.* On the other side, concerning that which some say of *Moses* and the Prophet *Daniel*, as it is written, *That Moses was skilfull in all the knowledge of the Egyptians*, that ought not to bee vnderstoode of Astrologie, or *Mateologie*, but of skill in the Hebrue learning, and of such like artes: Wherein there is nothing contrarie to Gods trueth: and we see the flat contrarie, that *Moses* in the presence of King *Pharaoh* reprehended the diuines of *Egypt*, and discouered their abominable superstitions. The same

Deut.13.

Act.7.

An vnlike coniecture.

ſame may appeare by *Daniel* and his companions, who had in ſuch hatred the diueliſh arts that rayned in the court of the King of *Babylon*, that they concluded al to abſtaine from eating of the Kings dainties. Then becauſe it ſeemes ſtrange to holde againſt the common opinion of all Aſtronomers, that the change of the ayre, and that a happie or vnhappie time is no whit cauſed by the particular vertue of the ſtarres, as to this preſent hath beene obſerued, how happeneth it, that in the 16. of Matth. and in the 12. of Luke, the tempeſts and ſtormes, and alſo faire weather are foretolde by the appearance of heauen? To this he anſwereth and ſaith, that it is one thing to coniecture by ſignes likely, and another to foretell what muſt happen from cauſes neceſſarie. For ſignes and cauſes farre differ the one from the other, as for example, the dawning of the day or the twilight, are neither cauſes of raine nor faire weather, but onely a ſigne ioyned to the nature of the thing,

Ob.

Sol.

A ſigne & a cauſe differ.

which thereby ſhewes vnto vs the conſtitution of the ayre: euen as wee ſee a Phiſition, who by the colour of the vrin can eaſely iudge of the diſpoſition of the bodie, yet no man will ſay that the colour is the cauſe of his ſicknes; in like manner of the heauen, a ſigne but no cauſe. The ſame alſo may bee done by the appearãce of the Sun or Moone: neuertheles, it is by the euidence of ſuch ſignes as neceſſarilie ſhall happen, and as he ſaith. *A cauſis iam fieri & incipientibus, hoc eſt, vbi iam cauſa eſt in effectu aliquo poſita.* From thence are the cauſes of the predictions of the change of ayre, and of bad times by the Mariners, Phiſitions, and ſuch like, whereunto thoſe may bee referred of *Virgil*, in diuerſe places, all which differ from the predictions & prognoſtications, which the Aſtronomers ordinarily doe forge vnto vs, a whole yeare before: *Et qui ex cauſis remotiſſimis prædicunt effectus.* In the end he concludes, that theſe predictions and Aſtrologicall diuinations are

A Similitude.

are wholly forbidden, as wel by equitie, as by holy Scripture: and as God himselfe speaketh in the 37. of *Iob*, *It is impossible for man to sounde the depth of heauen and earth. Hast thou considered (saith he) the spatious place of the earth, declare it if thou canst tell?* And *Salomon* in the book of Ecclesiastes saith: *As thou knowest not at all the waie of the winde, nor how the bones are knit together in the bellie of her that is with childe, euen so thou knowest not the whole of Gods worke.* And euen so the starres are made for no other ende then for to serue vs for the obseruation of dayes, moneths, & yeres, as it is written in Genesis: And to confirme the places and arguments aboue said, the same author alleadgeth the opinion of *Basill, Chrysostome, Nazianzen, Theodoret, Austin, Ambrose, Lactantius, Eusebius, Hierome.* And of the auncient Philosophers he alleadgeth *Plato, Aristotle, Hipocrates, Celsus.* Of the latter, *Celius, Rodinginus, Picus Mirandula, Longus, Thomas, Erastus, Caluin, Luther.* By meanes where-

Frischlin is too vehemēt against Astronomers.

Gen.1.17.

Chap.11.

of if wee will suppose the trueth of the reasons aboue sayd, the Arte of Astrologie should obtain none or very little credit of vs at all. Notwithstanding, although it appeareth by many places of holie scripture, that it is impossible for man to sound the secrets of heauen, as from them to bee able to draw certaine diuinations, or predictions of things to come, as well in particular as in generall; so likewise to submit the life of mã to the influences of starres and celestial bodies: yet so it is that the starres and signes of heauen haue bin obserued of a long time to haue in them a certaine especiall vertue, by that of the Sunne. But that is not specially to gouerne the creatures belowe, for GOD himselfe hath tolde vs in the 37. of *Job: Didst thou knowe when God disposed them and made the light to shine? Hast thou knowne the varietie of the cloudes, and the wondrous workes of him that is perfect in knowledge?* And so *Salomon* saith in Ecclesiastes: *As thou knowest not the voyce of the winde, &c.*

Astronomie must not goe so farre.

And

And in the ninth chapter, *VVho made the starre Arturus and Orion, and the stars Hyades, and the Climats of the mid day?* By these places it is at least thus euidēt, that some starres haue singular vertues, causing ordinarily the change of time, and of the ayre; if so be we ascribe not that vertue to the sunne, which seemeth to belong to the starres themselues, following the opinion of the forenamed Astronomer & that of *Tully* alleadged before: yet notwithstanding I report me to the best learned mens iudgemēts. *Fritschling confuted.*

Vpon the other side, to returne to Dreames whereof wee haue begun to speak before: those dreames that come by reason of a *Sympathie*, are placed amongst those of presaging, as when one friend dreameth of another: As for example, wee haue that of *Calphurnia* wife of *Julius Cæsar*, who dreamed the day before he was murdered, that she sawe her husband lye wounded in her bosome, and for that cause she prayed him earnestly not to goe that day vnto the *Dreames by reason of a Sympathie.* *Calphurnia.*

Senate: But to the intent he might not be thought to be skarred with a womās dreame, he went & was slaine. It is sayd that *Catherine* of *Medices* dreamed one day that King *Henry* her husband had one of his eyes put out, as it happened vnto him the next morning. But by reason of the trueth & certitude of euents which these dreams haue brought with thē, some are of that opinion that they deserue rather to be called *Diuine* and *Supernatural*, then *Diuinatorie*, to the example of that of *Pilats* wife, who being set in the iudgemēt Hall, she sent to him and told him, that he should not haue to doe with that iust one: for that night in her dreame she had suffered much because of him, as it is in *Matthew*. That likewise of *Caius Gracchus* (by reason of a Sympathie and naturall coniunction) when that hee dreamed of *Tiberius* his brother, is of the number of presaging dreames, as *Valerius Maximus* writeth. But because all the aboue mentioned dreames cause nothing but an encrease of

Katherine of Medices.

Chap.27.

C.Gracchus lib.1.7.

of superstition in the world, by reason of vnlawfull meanes, which men vse to attaine to the knowledge of the euents of things to come, for this cause wee ought not either to obserue, or giue credite vnto thē, nor interpret them, as God hath commanded. The trueth and effect of prophesies which is drawne from them is discouered, and made knowne by the ende and impossibilitie (as the scripture speaketh by the works of the Prophet.) Although wee see oftentimes by experience, that the diuell sayth the trueth for feare: although in the Acts hee mocketh the Inchaunters which knowe not Christ, and entreateth them so ill that they go hurt out of the chamber. And in the 8. and 9. chapter of *Exodus*, after the dust was turned into lice, the Inchaunters themselues finally confessed that the finger of God was there, and that they were not able to imitate the last miracle as they had done the former. For example of these times, it is not long since that in the countrie

Dreames the fountain of superstition.

Not to trust them.

So at Christs presence.

of

The world is full of such.

of *Northland* there was a mayd by whō the diuell foretold the euent of things which came after, and he failed onely in one point, by which it was found out to bee an ill spirit, which being disguised from the beginning, at length discouered himselfe such as he was. The diuine Dreames which come by the immutable counsell of God, are those whereof the holie scripture maketh mention, as of the Prophets and other persons, containing the reuelations of great matters, of weight and importance; as of Iesus Christ, the gouernment of his Church, and other vnlooked for changes. Such were the dreames of *Joseph* & the Prophets, which were knowne by their certaintie, and by the testimonie of trueth it selfe. Some haue made more degrees of diuine Dreames, to the intent to make knowne the diuersitie of meanes, which it hath pleased God in former time to vse in the reuelations of his prophesies, which may bee read at large in the fourth chapter of the first

Diuine Dreames.

booke

booke of Master *Bodin* his *Demononania*, there he obserueth as well in the reuelation of diuine prophesies, as in many other miracles, that God is serued by persons of diuers qualitie & condition, which had not the degree of ordinarie Prophets, whereof the scripture maketh mention, as of *Esai*, *Jeremie*, & others. But wee shall finde that oftentimes the same is done by persons heroicall, and of great respect; as appeareth by the dreames of *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadnezzar*, & others, especially in great matters, concerning the state of Monarchies & Empires. The same he doth sometime in things particular and of lesse moment, as may bee proued by infinite places of scripture, & other histories. The dreame of the Emperour *Mauricius* (by reason of the diuine prouidence which may be marked in it) may serue vs for an example, who dreamed that he shoul d be deliuered to a seruāt of his named *Phocas*, to be slaine: for this cause he sent for the Captaine *Philippick* to come out of prison,

God vseth often simple meanes.

Mauricius.

ſon, and demanded of him if there were not one named *Phocas* : the other anſwered that there was ſuch a one, a *centurion, ambitious*, and *fearefull*. Wherevpon the Emperour ſayd, alleadging an olde prouerbe to that ende, *If he be a coward he is a murderer*. This was the ſame, who after that he had firſt ſlaine his wife and children, cauſed his head to bee cut off: but the recitall of it is memorable, that *Maurice* ſeeing his children murdered by *Phocas*, and that he himſelfe muſt be put to death preſently, he ſpake often in this manner, *O Lord thou art iuſt, and ſo are all thy workes*. In like manner, the dreame of *Alexander* the Great is alſo worth the marking, who marching with his armie toward *Iudea*, met with the hie Prieſt clothed in his ſolemne attyre, who came to demaund peace of him in the name of the people. *Alexander* ſeeing that, lighted from his horſe, and ſaluted him with great reuerence, and promiſed them peace. His Captaines amazed hereat, incontinentlie deman-

A coward a murderer.

Note.

demanded, what made *Alexander* to do such honor to the Priest. *Alexander* said, that before the warres of *Macedon* hee had seene him in a vision in the same forme and fashion that hee came vnto him, calling him to come into *Asia*, and commanding him to make warre with the *Persians*, and he put foorth his hand as it were to guide him. And so seeing now that this high Priest is most like to the former visiõ, he was perswaded that God had some care of his people there, and for that cause he would spare them, as indeede he shewed afterward, both by freeing them from tribute, and defending them against their enemies. By reason whereof some are of that opinion, that it is very likely that the *Iewes* aduertised *Alexander* then of the prophesie of *Daniel*, hauing foretold 200. yeare before, that the King of *Greece* should conquer *Persia*. The dreame of the Emperour *Theodosius* was such like, then when as sleeping it seemed vnto him that by a certaine vision hee was

Alexander.

Theodosius.

commaunded to goe combat *Eugenius* and *Argobastus*, both Tyrants & sworne enemies to the name of God, which hee did, and in fighting vpon a sodaine such a great storme arose, that in all respects so hindred the enemie, that that was the cause of the victorie, and the victorie the cause of the Poets song *Claudianus:*

So of ours against the Spaniards 1588.

O nimium dilecta Deo, cui militat æther,
Et coniurati, veniunt, ad classica venti.

On the other side, GOD reuealeth sometimes the truth of things to come, by the meanes of some men who are of good life and fearing God; wherein the dreame of *Mardocay* concerning Queene *Esther* his Neece, & of *Aman*, (as it is written in the booke of *Hester*) shall serue vs for example. In like manner the dreame of *Anthonie* the Hermit, who dreamed that he sawe hogs which pulled down the Altars with their feet, and awaking sayd, that the Church of God should come to bee spoyled and wasted by whoremasters, adulterers, &c. as afterward it came to passe. *Philip*

Anthonie the Hermit.

lip Melanchton noteth this prophesie against the voluptuous life of the Monks & Priests. Many such like dreames may be found out in the course of histories. Now these dreames whereof wee haue spoken, and all such as are of the same sort, are acknowledged for good, by the conformitie which they haue to the will of GOD, and to the trueth of the dreame, as God himselfe hath taught vs in the 23. of *Ieremie*, saying, *The Prophet that hath a dreame let him tell a dreame, and he that hath my word let him speake my word faithfully, &c.* Furthermore, the histories of all ages do teach vs, that God manifesteth sometimes the trueth of some things by the meanes of inspiration onely without dreame; which fashion of prophesying is put in the second degree of prophesies: and this he doth when as one perceiueth waking somthing which entreth into his soule, which he may vtter to the praise of God and his workes; wherein God vseth such persons as it pleaseth him. And al-

Melanchtõ.

Iere. 23.

Inspiration.

though it may ſeeme needles to haue many prophecies, by reaſon that by many viſions and diuine reuelations continued in the holy Scripture, wee are alreadie aſſured of Gods trueth and good pleaſure, yet notwithſtanding hiſtories, beſides experience, haue declared vnto vs, that we haue ſuch daylie, and that God neuer ceaſeth to ſend aduertiſements to men; bee it by dreame, viſion, or any other meanes, to make them knowe his will, to the intent to guide and gouerne them according to the ſame; as well for the preſeruing of Empires, as of his people, and his owne Church: Then for example of ſuch aduertiſements and diuine inſpirations, whereof wee now ſpeake, wee haue that of the Chriſtian Schoolemaſter in *Antioch* with *Lybianus* the Sophiſter, (when as *Julian* the Emperor, and alſo the *Apoſtata*, went againſt the *Perſians*) who demaunded what thinkeſt thou that the carpenters ſonne doth? *The other anſwered him, the Creator of all thinges, whome thou*

But great care muſt be had herein by reaſon of ſo manie falſe inſpirations.

Lybianus.

thou ſcornefully calleſt the Carpenters ſonne, is making a Cofin to intombe Julian, and ſoone after the newes came that *Julian* was ſlaine. The moſt admirable foreſight of the Philoſopher *Cratippus*, (although he were a heathen) deſerueth to be accounted amongſt diuine predictions; who then when as *Pompey* demaunded of him, if he were vanquiſht in a iuſt cauſe, and a farre better one then his enemies, anſwered that a ſtate and common wealth vitious, and corrupt, required a gouernour to bee a Monarch, and that ſo the periods of Empires were fatall, & that the Common wealth of the *Romans* ſhould change at that inſtant (as afterward it happened) to an abſolute Monarchie. The prediction of Saint *John* the Euangeliſt is not amiſſe for this purpoſe, who being in *Epheſus*, and going to the Bathes, founde in the ſame place *Cerinthus* the Sophiſter, blaſpheming the name of God, hee hearing it, ſaid vnto his companions, Let vs goe hence, for this houſe will preſently fall

Cratippus.

Note this.

S. Iohn.

vpon

vpon the blasphemer and his auditors; hee was no sooner gone, but the house fell to the grounde vpon *Cerinthus* and his company. We reade also in *Iosephus*, that in the time of *Herode* there was a number of Pharisies, who refused to sweare to the Emperor, & for that cause they weare constrayned to paye a great summe of money, as a recompence, which was payed for them by the wife of one *Pheroras*, & in recompence thereof, one amongst them reuealed a certaine secret vnto her, which hee said was inspired vnto him from God, namelie, that God had determined in his secret counsell to roote out *Herode* and all his race: and that the end of his kingdome was at hand; as afterward it happened. But it cost the Pharisies deare to haue foretolde the death of *Herode*, for hee made them al to be put to death before. Like examples to these may easilie bee founde (besides in histories) heere and there in holy Scriptures, which I omitte for breuitie sake. The late Chronicles testifie

Inspirations in former times.

testifie of *Iohn Husse* Martyr, that hee tolde before his death, that the kingdome of the Pope should by little and little, come to ruine and vtter decaye, and that out of his ashes and cynders, there should rise a Swan which should not bee rosted in the same sorte, as that Goose was rosted; speaking of himselfe; for the worde *Huße* in the *Bohemian* tongue signifieth a *Goose*. He foretold also, that his aduersaries a hundred yeares after his death should come to answer both God and him. M. *Peucer* speaking of the same prediction, saith that the effect followed, for after the *Synod* of *Constance*, till the beginning of the disputatiõs of M. *Luther* were counted a hundred yeares. At the selfe same time was fulfilled the third and last period of the 500. yeares; then that darknes of errors (wherewith Gods Church had been dimmed) began to be dispersed and vanish away. The trueth of such like inspirations are knowne by their endes; as the Prophet *Jeremie* testifieth,

Iohn Husse. Fox in lib. Martyr.

Meaning Luther which signifieth a swan.

 saying,

Cap. 38. saying, *The Prophet that shall foretell of peace, when his speech shall come to passe, then such a Prophet shall be knowne that the Lord sent him.* In truth principally then, when it is perceiued by diuerse circumstances, that the effect wholly dependeth vpon the will of God, by reason of the changing of matters of importance, which we see to happen: likewise wee see that God serueth himselfe with whom it pleaseth him, guiding and gouerning their spirites for the execution of his works, according to his good pleasure. For example of our times, there is extant the prediction of one *Paule Greber*, which hee made of the estates & Common wealths of *Europe*, of the house of *Burgonie*, and of the Lowe Countries, who amongst other things which he foretold (whereof many haue come to passe) he named the succession of the King of *Nauarre*, to the Crowne of *France*, in the yeare 1589. and proceeding further in the course of that matter, hee promiseth greater things to the

A note against peremptorie conclusions in Diuining.

Paul Greber.

the King of *Nauarre*, and of the good succesſe which hee ſhall haue in his affaires, and of the Lowe Countries, that they ſhall ſpeedilie bee deliuered from the tyrannie of *Spaine:* in one worde, as the prouerbe is, *Halcionia promittit*. But comming to the yeare 1590. hee telleth of the death of a great and mightie king, enemy to the former, which death (ſaith hee) ſhall happen in the yeare 1590. But concerning any certaintie, or true coniectures in numbers, either of yeares or ſuch like, wherein Maſter *Bodin* & others are too curious, I let them paſſe as matter impertinent and things of too nice & nimble coniecture. Then by the difference of dreames, whereof wee haue ſpoken before, by the diſtinction of their kinds, likewiſe by the generall expoſition of diuinations, lawfull and vnlawful, it may be vnderſtood and eaſily knowne, how to applie them to the alteration and chaunge of a Commonwealth. There be alſo other ſorts of Diuinations beſides theſe, but be-

Vncertaine who, and ſo are all ſuch diuinations.

Numbers vncertaine.

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cauſe they cannot ſerue to iudge of the change of ſtates (by requiring a whole treatiſe themſelues, & being moſt learnedly handled of others) I haue determined wholly to let them paſſe, as onely purpoſing to note out the principall and generall rules ſeruing for this purpoſe. But as of all the meanes and rules which haue been obſerued from antiquitie, to confirme the iudgement concerning the chaunge and fall of a Common wealth, there is none neceſſarie, although God ſometimes permit things to fall out according to their naturall courſe: therfore it becommeth vs likewiſe to attend patiently the ende & the euents of all things, as God hath determined in his immutable counſell, without preſuming too farre, by too great a curioſitie vnbeſeeming our blind and dull capacities. And although by reaſon of our weaknes wee cannot ſound the vnderſtanding of the depth of thoſe predictions, which GOD hath made, ſometime by one meane, ſometime by other;

My L. Henry Howard.

No rule neceſſarie to iudge of the chaunge of a Kingdome.

other; yet notwithſtanding wee muſt not caſt aſide his threatnings, ſeruing to aduertiſe vs of what muſt happen, to the intent to auoyde the ſcourge of his wrath, (nor yet eſteeme them as neceſſarie, and that God cannot turne them to good:) but on the contrarie wholly rely vppon his mercie, which is infinite towards them which repent in fit and conuenient time: conſider what wee haue obſerued by diſcourſe of hiſtories, and according to our capacitie, touching diuinations in this kinde, lawfull and vnlawfull, to the intent that by their difference it may bee the better iudged, what ſhall happē for the chang and ruines of Common wealths, and of the eſtate of Realmes, and Empires: not to the intent to ſet downe certaine rules whereby to diuine generally of things to come, againſt the might and authoritie of God, or to giue occaſiō to ſome, to relye vpon ſuperſtitious and fooliſh vanities; but to the intent to iudge by things paſt, of thinges to come, and by

We ought to marke Gods threatnings.

The ſcope of this whole treatiſe.

that which hath bin, of that which may bee, according to the naturall course appoynted vnto all things by God himselfe.

The chiefe kindes of Diuination vnlawfull.

1. *By obseruation of the flying of foules.* Deut. 18. 10.

2. *By obseruation of Dreames.* Leu. 19.

3. *By Sorcerie or lottes.* Deut. 18.

4. *Per Pythones, by inspiration of the diuell.* Leuit. 20.

5. *By false and counterfeit apparitions of the diuell.* 1. Sam. 28.

Effecta nulla futura per se cognosci possunt ab vllo Intellectu præterquam à diuino cui omnia sunt præsentia. Zanch. de oper. lib. 6. cap. 2.

ENG-

ENGLAND TO HER THREE DAVGHters, Cambridge, Oxford, Innes of Court, and to all her Inhabitants.

IF from the depth of intyre affection, I take vpō me to deale more plainely, then your honorably augmented dignities will well permit; or from too feruent a loue, ouerweyingly valew you at too high a rate, perſwade your ſelues (if theſe be my faultes) that the name of a mother hath a priueledge to excuſe them both: and howſoeuer a mother to her daughters, might more fitly ſpeake in ſecret and not hard, yet ſeeing my naked trueth deſires not to ſhroude

Libertie of ſpeech fits a mother.

it

it ſelfe from my greateſt enemie, I challenge thoſe kingdomes that haue had children, to be witneſſe of my talke; and if either there be folly in me, for to loue ſo much, or fault in you to deſerue ſo little, then let thē blame me of too blind affection: and accuſe you of not deſeruing, and ſo ſpeedily from Fames book will I cancel out your praiſe, and recant my loue to a mothers ſhame. But if I (iuſtly fortunate) haue high cauſe to commend you, & *Europe* for your ſake, hath greater cauſe to commend mee; then may I not lawfully with a mothers loue, ſhew the affection of a grandmother, to commend your children? And although my reuenewes are ſuch, as I cannot giue you large patrimonies, yet from my mouth ſhall the whole world take notice to giue you eternal praiſes. The time was (and happie time may I ſay) when in the glorie of my age, in the prime of my youth, in the honor of my dayes, in the fame of my deſert, in the multitude of my friends, I matched with

A thing not poſſible.

All Europe bound to England for her daughters.

Sige-

Sigebertus ſometimes my louing huſband; and howſoeuer my behauiour was farre from lightnes, my manners from looſenes, and my modeſtie from the leaſt ſuſpect, yet I was taken in the corrupt mindes of ſome fewe, to be too familiar with *Cantabrus* the K. of *Spayne*, the ſuppoſed father of *Cambridge* my eldeſt daughter: but to excuſe my ſelfe, (though there was no cauſe) I proteſt I was free from ſuch adulterie, lawfullie married to *Sigebert*: by him was begotten my eldeſt daughter *Cambridge*: and the ſuſpitiõ only proceeded from this, that *Cantabrus* ſeeing me happie for ſo ſweete a childe, was deſirous to chriſten it, and calde it *Cambridge*, and after from *Athens* ſent for ſome to nurſe her. Then after *Sigebertus* death (ſweete daughter ſigh that he died ſo ſoone) (for legacies farre greater would he haue left thee) courted deuoutly, I matched at laſt (wearie of my widdowhood) with worthie *Alfred*: of him (ſweet daughter *Oxford*) was thou borne: and howſoeuer

Anno Dom. 630. Cambridge founded as ſome write.

Anno Dom. 800. Oxford founded.

Caius de antiquitate Cantab.

ſome ſhadowes of diſcord haue bin betwixt you two (a thing vſually incident to your ſex) which of you might challenge the firſt place; yet I muſt needes confeſſe this, I liued long comforted only with one childe; doubting I ſhould haue been aged and paſt childbearing, and then to my perpetuall comfort (ſweete *Oxford*) was thou borne. And howſoeuer thy elder ſiſter may challenge that ſhe hath liued longer, yet cã ſhe not boaſt that either I haue loued her better, or that ſhe her ſelfe hath deſerued to be loued better. More fruitfull *Oxford* haſt thou bin; (neither herein doe I cõmend thee) but more proudly iealous (*Cambridge*) of thy honor haſt thou been; yet both of you ſo deare to me, ſo equally beloued, ſo worthily accounted of, ſo walled with priuiledges, ſo crowned with all kinde of honor, as both (vnequall to bee compared with each other) may in the higheſt tearmes bee preferred before the moſt famous, that *Europe* hath: thẽ ſtriue not betwixt

Cambridge more anciẽt.

Both admirable & both matchleſſe.

your

your ſelues, but both be vnite together: ioyne hands, and if famous *Alexandria*, that ſometime liued with high honour, who now lieth buried in her own aſhes, were flouriſhing, to make compariſon, let her knowe that within your walles, (howſoeuer you reuerēce hers for their age) are many as famous as *Athanaſius*, many as full of learned varietie as *Clemens*, and many farre more ſoundly religious then them both. Ioyne I ſay together and ſtriue both to grace your youngeſt ſiſter (daughter frowne not that I tearme thee youngeſt:) (daughters frowne not that I tearme her your ſiſter:) for although ſhe cannot bragge of the ſame progenie, nor hath receiued ſuch ample legacies from her deceaſed father, yet her beautie, her modeſtie, her owne behauiour, hath matched her with ſuch noble families, as both of you may be intertained by her, & haue your children graced with her fauour: you are both growne into good yeares, grauitie befits you. But ſhe

Alexandria not comparable.

Doctors in Cambridge & Oxford.

The Innes of court.

Both Vniuerſities ſtand in need of the Innes of court.

is young, ſtately, courtlike, and ſuch a one as ſcornfully can anſwer her proudeſt ſuters; nay her children are ſo valiantly wiſe, as when my ſubiects diſagree ſhe makes them friends, when you fall out ſhe endeth all ſtrife, & to whom I haue committed now in my age the gouernment of al my ſubiects: then repine not at her happines, if you loue mine; wiſh that daylie ſhe may growe more honourable. And howſoeuer I haue heard complaints, that ſhe hath receiued ſome of your children, and cheriſhed them ſo much, that ſhe hath made them wanton, yet (daughters) the fault is not hers; you your ſelues hauing bin ancient mothers, can well iudge, that youth (and youth plentifullie ſtored with all fauours) can hardly be reſtrained to a ſtricter courſe: ſhe hath not been careles, plentifully to ſet before them graue and worthie mirrhors of wiſe ſobrietie, whõ if your youth would emulate, thẽ ſhould you cauſeles complaine of her kindnes: And for her, this muſt

The mother of peace.

The fountaine of policie.

The Innes of court falſly ſlandered to be too looſe in the educatiõ of her youth.

must I say (though I heare otherwise) that kindely, louingly, and wisely she respecteth you, as her elder sisters. Neither can it be, (howsoeuer perhaps shee might perswade her selfe) that if I should liue to see you buried (O vnfortunate if I liue so long) that (sweete daughters) she alone could be sufficient to comfort me; nay my age and her youth, both so neerely depend vpon your welfare, as if either yee dye (which I dare not thinke of) or be offended with vs (which I will not suppose) thē desolate were our case, and both of vs like to be seene ruinous. Account of them then (daughter) as your elder sisters, and howsoeuer you are youthful and full of fauour, yet they are aged & full of honour: And though it be the part of a mother equally to respect you all three, yet at my husbands sute (hee liuing) I so bequeathed mine honour vnto them two, as the stay of our house remaineth in them onely. Then I intreate thee (daughter) by the loue which thou beareſt to mine inhabitants:

Carefull of the Vniuersities.

The Innes of court not able alone to furnish England with wisdome.

Vniuersities the stay of a land.

bitants: by the care which thou haſt of thy owne ſafety: and laſtly by the duetie which thou oweſt to me thy mother, in all reſpects to fauour thy ſiſters honour: in all cauſes chiefely to intend their good: and to binde thoſe with a ſacred vowe, who are thy poſteritie, to ſeeke their glorie whilſt the world endureth. Stately *Greece*, who ſometimes was famous ouer al the world, had long ſince beene buried in the eternall night of darke forgetfulnes, if her daughter *Athens* had not lincked her children in marriage, with the greateſt families in all *Europe*: And renowned *Florence* (daughters giue mee leaue to aduaunce your petegree) (not halfe ſo nobly deſcended as you are) being begotten by *Silla* his ſouldiers, a *Pagan*, borne in the dayes of infidelitie, had neuer been reputed as the flower of *Jtalie*, if laureat *Petrarch*, *Dantes*, *Accurſius*, *Aretin*, and laſtly, the famous Duke had not made her indeard to the moſt renowned in all *Greece*. And *Padway* eternizing

Athens.

Ante aduẽtum Chriſti 90.

Coſmus Medices.

Padway.

zing the riuer *Po*, had been long ſince in the middeſt of her diſtreſſes, raſed out of famous memories, if *Rome* liue-making *Liuie* had not beene noted to deſcend from her. Then flouriſh (kinde daughters) all vnited in that manner, that the world may knowe your poſteritie to bee ſo linckt together, as that my loue cannot bee greater to you all, then all the worlde may ſee that yours is amongſt your ſelues: *Cambridge* thou once like the Queene of the *Amazons*, for my honour accepted the proude challenge of the *Roman* Champion; and thy children haue often ſince ſo valiantly withſtoode their learned foes, as *Rome* can neither aduance her *Bellarmin*: *Louan* her *Stapleton*, (nay mine by right) *Rhemes* their margent: or the proudeſt of them all, ſay, they haue dared mee, and I haue not anſwered: nay thy other ſiſter hath been ſo forward in that kinde, as the woundes ſhee made, are not yet cured. And if at home any baſe peſant, not valewing thy worth,

Liuie.

A happie Vnion.

Campion.

Confuted by D. Whitaker.

Confuted by D. Fulke.

Humfrey Reinolds.

vpon

vpon presumption shall do you wrong, either hardly intreating your children, denying them their names of honour, defrauding them of their land: detracting from their fame; your youngest sister shal be so incensed with it, as humbling their pride, she shall cause them to repent their boldnes: and think daughters, I intend not to see you want, for no sooner will I heare that you are distressed, but my nobilitie shall redresse your wrong; my citizens shall relieue your want; and my souldiers shall procure your peace. And for your scoulding neighbours, vouchsafe not daughters to contend with them; humble not my honour so lowe, as to mate it with such meane Knights. *Paris*, wise was thy *Japhets* progenie, who made thy *Sequan* to parte thy towne and thee. And great *Charles*, thou wert great in this, to foresee an Vniuersitie and a towne, could not well agree: My youngest daughter it was thy case, to haue one of thy children vndeseruedly endangered by thy often

Puritans. Politickes. Atheists. Law must cut these off.

A thing often done.

Your Townsmen.

often relieued neighbours. But as the excellencie of the obiect corrupts the ſence: and Lyons are neuer ſo furious, as at the ſight of a red colour: nor the Elephants ſo vnruly, as at the ſhew of the Mulberie; ſo my ignorant inhabitants are no where ſo rude, as placed ſo neare a ſunne: my Lyons are no where ſo furious, as ſeeing your ſcarlet gowns, nor my Elephants ſo vnruly, as taſting of your powrefull and poyſon killing mulberies. I would exhort you in more ample tearmes, but that I knowe your patience, and control them in a ſharper manner, but that I ſee their furie: betake your ſelues to more high atchieuemēts. Let your aged ſit downe, and reſt them in honours chayre; ſet your children to write triumphing ſongs for their mothers victorie: ſhew your quick diſceruing eyeſight in theſe deceiuing times. Let the worlde ſee, that amongſt your children, wit hath fruitefully growne, in this vntimely, niggardly blaſting age: wherein though blackemouthed enuie

Lincolnes Inne by the Chancery lane.

Ly-ons.

Honor your Doctors.

Rayling Aſſes.

repine at euery choyce conceit, tearming it, either time or wit, or both idlelie imployed, yet my true discernement and a mothers loue, makes mee tearme them natures works, made with a comparing pride, in these latter times to shew their excellencie: Yet follow not so farre the conceited imitation of former time, to take trifles for subiectes to work vpon, as therein meaning to make art wondered at that worke of nothing. Thousands of obiects might bee found out, wherein your high spirited muse might flie an vnmatched pitch, & Phœnix-like fire her selfe into immortall ashes by the Sunne. So onely without compare, eternallie should you liue: for in your children shall the loue-writing muse of diuine *Sydnay*, and the pure flowing streame of Chrystallin *Spenser* suruiue onely: write then of *Elizas* raigne, a taske onely meete for so rare a pen: it is easie to giue immortalitie to an euer-liuing Empresse: or if this bee matter, which the basenes of these worth-

Young men should write and inure themselues in smaller matters.

A fit taske for the finest Scholler.

worthlesse times would hardlie prefer before trifles, (a thing sufficiēt to accuse this age of treason) then take a tragicke stile, & mourne for the trulie *Hon. Ferdinandos* death: whom though scattered teares haue honoured in some few sonnets, yet he is a true worthie obiect of euerlasting mourning for the sacred Muses: who languishing with late sorrow for the fathers death, want strength and leasure to weepe for the Sonnes eclipse: honour him sweete daughters children, who liuing honoured you: and control with the muses pen the repining fates, so farre as giue him immortalitie, and cause him liue to despight them. Thus wept you for famous *Sydnay*, my braue souldier: and men Hon. are onely fit to be mourned for by your Muses: which if being made sorrowfull they require larger matter to mourne for. Then name but *Hatton*, the Muses fauorite: the Churches musick: Learnings Patron, my once poore Ilands ornament: the Courtiers grace, the Schollars

The late worthy Earle of Darbie, who died April. 1593.

Neuer enough lamēted.

Who dyed, Sept. 1593.

Cantabrigiæ lachrimæ.

Sir Christopher Hatton L. Chancelor of England.

conntenance, and the Guardes Captaine. *Thames* I dare auouch wil become teares: the ſweeteſt perfumes of the Court will bee ſad ſighes: euerie action ſhall accent griefe; honor and eternitie ſhall ſtriue to make his tombe, and after curious skill and infinite coſt, ingraue this with golden letters, *Minùs merito:* the fainting Hind vntimely chaſde ſhall trip towards heauen, and *tandem ſi* ſhall be vertues mot. Or if ſad Melancholie (daughters) diſpleaſe your Muſes (a thing well agreeing with my age) then take the courſe to canonize your owne writers, that not euery bald ballader to the preiudice of Art, may paſſe currant with a Poets name, but that they onely may bee reputed Hon. by that tearme, that ſhall liue priuiledged vnder your pennes: For not preciſe *Ariſtarchus*, or aged cenſoring *Cato*, might challenge greater priuiledge of trueth, then your free toongd and vn-aw-bound skill: I ſpeake this (daughters) not to that ende to make your children like the peremptory

Aurea puluereis, præſtant æterna caducis.

A thing fit onely to be done by thē.

tory Criticks of this age, but to diſwade you from the fault of the common people, the cruel miſlike of your owne, and the intollerable flatterie of ſtrangers wits. And if this or ſuch like be not matter; wherein your deare cheriſhed muſe may iuſtly delite it ſelfe, and ſweetely pleaſe others, then ſing of warres, and of learned valour: of *Mineruas* foe-danting ſhield: of *Mars*-conquering honor: of the Courts Loadſtarre: of Englands *Scipio:* of *France* his ayde: of *Fames* glorie: of the *Muſes* eldeſt ſonne: of *Arts* ornament: of vertues miracle: of Religions champion: of thriſe honorable, & worthilie-worthie-honored-noble-*Eſſex.* (Daughter *Cambridge*) he was ſometimes thy care, thou now art become his; bee proud that thou gaueſt ſucke to ſo braue a man; and aſſure thy ſelfe (yet ſlacke not to honor him) that hee will willinglie beſtowe that milke (which is now made bloud) with intereſt in thy quarel; howſoeuer ſlack not, but write; ſleepe not, but ſing: let your mor-

Of the warres in Flaunders, on the Sea. 1588.

In Fraunce.

The euery where beloued Earle of Eſſex.

In Trinitie Colledge.

A patron of the Uniuerſities, and the Innes of court.

mornings muſe like *Aurora* bluſhing march her equipage, in her ſtatelieſt buskind Poetrie. I know *Cambridge* howſoeuer now old, thou haſt ſome young, bid them be chaſt, yet ſuffer them to be wittie; let them be ſoundly learned, yet ſuffer them to be gentlemanlike qualified: *Oxford* thou haſt many, and they are able to ſing ſweetly when it pleaſe thee. And thou youngeſt of all three, either in Hexameter Engliſh, thou art curious (but that thou learnedſt of my daughter *Cambridge*) or in any other kinde thou art ſo wiſely merrie, as my ſelfe (though olde) am often delighted with thy muſick, tune thy ſweet ſtrings, & ſing what pleaſe thee. Now me thinks I begin to ſmile, to ſee how theſe ſmaller lights (who not altogether vnworthily were ſet vp to expel darknes) bluſhinglie hide themſelues at the Suns appeare. Then ſhould not tragicke *Garnier* haue his poore *Cornelia* ſtand naked vpon euery poſte: then ſhould not Times complaint delude with ſo good a title: then ſhould

Sweet Maſter Campiõ.

Britton. Percie. Willobie. Fraunce. Lodge. Maſter Daniis of L. I. Drayton. Learned M. Plat.

Balladmakers.

A work howſoeuer not reſpected yet excellently done by Th. Kid.

ſhould not the Paradiſe of daintie deuiſes bee a packet of balde rimes: then ſhould not *Zepherin*, *Cephalus* and *Procris* (workes I diſpraiſe not) like water mē pluck euery paſſinger by the ſleeue: then euery braineles toy ſhould not vſurpe the name of Poetrie: then ſhould not the Muſes in their tinſell habit be ſo baſely handled by euery rough ſwaine: then ſhould not loues humour ſo tyranniſe ouer the chaſt virgines: thē ſhould honor be mournd for in better tearms. *Cambridge* make thy two childrē friēds, thou haſt been vnkinde vnto the one to weane him before his time; & too fond vpon the other to keepe him ſo long without preferment; the one is ancient, & of much reading, the other is young but ful of wit: tell them both thou bred thē, and brought thē vp: bid the ancient forbeare to offer wrong; tel the yonger he ſhall ſuffer none: bid him that is free by law, think it a ſhame to be entangled in ſmall matters: but tell the other, he muſt leaue to meditate reuenge, for his aduer-

But by the greedy Printers ſo made proſtitute that they are contemned.

Nor Poetrie be tearmed Ryme.

D. Haruey. M. Naſh.

Doctores liberi ſunto.

Others of that name, as fit for a Scholler to inueigh againſt.

aduersarie (and let that suffice for al reuenge) (to learnings iniurie) liues vnregarded. And daughter (but I list not chide thee) I heare thou art in preferring growne too partiall: thou loueſt ſiniſterly thy ſelfe, and haſt quite forgotten me thy mother; it is thy ſiſters fault, as well as thine, you both of you preferre ſuch into your priuat fauours, grace them with degrees, giue thē places; (but I will ſay nothing becauſe ſtrangers heare me) who of all other are moſt vnmeete to do me good: nay, that which doth vexe me more, you ſay all herein you are mother like: What? haue I preferd to dignitie in the Common wealth, ſuch as the world in true eſtimate, haue thought vnmeete? Haue I relied vpon them, as vpon *Atlas* ſhoulders, who were vnmeete for ſo great a burden? Haue I euer ventured my ſelfe in the field vnder their enſignes, who were reputed cowards? Did I euer imploy in forraine matters, ſuch as were vnfit for priuate cauſes? Nay, I proteſt for

Great pittie.

For fellowſhips.

Many Graduats vnmeet for the common wealth.

Lamentable when it is ſo in a common wealth.

Englands great care in appoynting her officers.

for these 36. yeres I haue alwayes cared to take them nearest into my fauour, who were best acquainted with wisdomes secret. I relied vpon those in my peace, who *Nestor*-like, were wise to preuent warre: I trusted to those in my warres, who *Hector*-like were valiant to procure my peace: I sent such into forraine countries, as birth made Hon. experience wise; education learned: these haue beene my honors: and if I haue faultes (children) they proceede from you. But I am loath to doe you the least wrong: and to charge you with vnkindnes in my last age: for vnlesse I haue euer doted (a thing easie in so great a loue) *France* my sister (for I will begin with her) cannot so much brag of *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Lyons*, *Rhemes*, or the proudest of al her children: as I may iustly of you three. *Germanie* hath paiuefull *Basill*, and pleasant populous *Franckefort*: where *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, the *Naiades* & *Dryades* do march together, & yet these too meane

The right Honorable LL. of the priuy Counsell.
Valiant captaines.
Learned Embassadors.
Hen. Darby.
Vniuersities not to be controlled by euery odde conceipt.
The Vniuersities of Fraunce, not equall to ours in England.
Founded 1490.
Founded 1506.

to compare with you. I passe by *Italies*
Anno.1457. of-spring, who of long time hath caried
her selfe with excessiue pride. Ritch *Venice*, with her 400. bridges: great *Millayn*, proude *Genua*, fertill *Bomonia*, auncient *Rauema*, noblie honorable *Naples*, (once *Parthinope:*) holy *Rome*, and faire *Florence*. Thus they were tearmed long since, but now vnequall to compare with you: *Salernitana* sometimes could giue counsell, when she shewed her care
To King Henry 8. and skil to my deare *Henry*, but now obscurelie shee lieth desolate: you may passe these farre, & without presumption compare with *Toledo*, *Spaynes Nauell:* with *Vienna* fearefull to the *Turkes:*
The Papists diligent to gaine English Students. you are talkt of euery where, and falselie *Rome* goeth aboute to intice your children, offering them kingdomes to forsake you: (daughters) spare not, take what I haue and bestowe vpon them: let them not whilst I liue, forsake you for want of liuing: my wealth and possessions that I haue, are intended chiefelie to your good: and howsoeuer

either

either the base cormorant, or the poore citie-vsurer, or the wanton spend-thrift, take themselues to haue more interest in my substance then you haue, yet they vsurpe vpon my kindenes, and make mee beleeue, that the two staies of my age (you my children for peace, and my souldiers for warre) haue both enough: I haue made lawes to augment your reuenewes by your rent corne: I prouided lately for my souldiers, whē they were in want: credit mee children, my care is of you onely; for vnlesse you direct them, their plentie is dangerous to breed rebellion: their force is doubtfull to make them disobedient: their honor likely to grow tyrannous, and what soeuer they inioy without you, to bee dangerous to the Common wealth. Let your children (daughters) content thē-selues: leaue to repine at baser fortunes: let them be perswaded of this, that Fame shall be their seruant, Honour shall bee their subiect, Glory shalbe their crown, Eternitie their inheritance: then in-

All thinke they haue more reason to be richer then Scholler.

An vntruth.

Englands chiefe care is of learning.

Schollers must learne patience.

deard wit decking admired daughters) write and let the worlde know that heauens harmonie is no musicke, in respect of your sweete, and well arte tuned strings: that *Italian Ariosto* did but shadowe the meanest part of thy muse, that *Tassos Godfrey* is not worthie to make compare with your truelie eternizing *Elizas* stile: let France-admired *Bellaw*, and courtlike amarous *Rousard* confesse that there be of your children, that in these latter times haue farre surpassed them. Let diuine *Bartasse* eternally praise worthie for his weeks worke, say the best thinges were made first: Let other countries (sweet *Cambridge*) enuie, (yet admire) my *Virgil*, thy petrarch, diuine *Spenser*. And vnlesse I erre, (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloued *Delia*, and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra*; *Oxford* thou maist extoll thy courte-deare-verse happie *Daniell*, whose sweete refined muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst

M. Alablaster.
Spenser and others.

Lylia clouded, whose teares are making.

All praise worthy.
Lucrecia
Sweet Shakspeare.
Eloquent Gauestton.

mongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosemond*, pittie to distressed *Cleopatra*, and euerliuing praise to her louing *Delia*: Register your childrens petegree in Fames forehead, so may you fill volumes with *Chausers* praise, with *Lydgate*, the Scottish Knight, and such like, whose vnrefined tongues farre shorte of the excellencie of this age, wrote simplie and purelie as the times weare. And when base and iniurious trades, the sworne enemies to Learnings eternitie (a thing vsuall) shall haue deuoured them, either with the fretting cancker worme of mouldie time: with *Arabian* spiccrie: with english honnie: with outlandish butter (matters of imployment for the aged dayes of our late authors) yet that then such (if you thinke them worthie) in despite of base Grosers, (whome I charge vpon paine of learnings curse, not to handle a leafe of mine) may liue by your meanes, canonized in learning

Wanton Adonis.
Watsons heyre.
So well graced Anthonie deserueth immortall praise from the hãd of that diuine Lady who like Corinna contẽding with Pindarus was oft victorious.
Sir Dauid Lynsay.
Matilda honorably honored by so sweet a Poẽ.
Diana.

Procul hinc, procul ite profani.

nings catalogue. I am loath to bee too long in my aduiſements to you (wiſe daughters:) and therefore heere I period them, wiſhing you (if neede bee) to make mine apologie: not that I fainte to maintaine the leaſt parte of my credit, againſt any male-contented ſelfe-conceited, vnregarded malicious ſubiect, but that *Europe* in this age, delited onelie with thinges perſonall, ſhall not bring mee vpon the theater in matter of ſuch deſignements, to ſtand (againſt my owne inhabitants) to the fauourable courteſie of their wiſe Cenſors. Daughters followe their counſell, and honour ſuch, as I haue for wiſedome loued, for yeares and authoritie appointed to rule ouer you: let not your younger children deſpiſe their aged brethren, loue them as becommeth mothers, and I will ſend for them in conuenient time (as their grandmother) to gouerne my common wealth. And becauſe ſhee ſhall not thinke I neglect her, reade

England to be defended by ſchollers.

Your learned Doctors.

Cheriſh your youth.

The fault of Vniuerſities.

reade what I haue written to mine inhabitants in her behalfe: iudge how I ſtand affectionate; God graunt you may all followe my aduiſe, ſo ſhall I finde you truſtie, and you me to be moſte louing: then ſhall the world feare mee, for ſuch worthie children: and enuie you for ſo kinde a mother. But heere (children) I muſt ende with you, and ſpeake to the reſt of my wiſe inhabitants.

ENG-

ENGLAND TO AL HER INHABITANTS.

England too kind.

IF the ſad & iuſt complaint of a mournfull (vniuſtlie wronged) mother, would giue my teares but truce ſo long till my tongue had told my tale; then could I eaſily perſwade my ſelfe, that a matter ſo full rathe ſhould gaine pitie, and that theſe often ſtopped periods ſhould gaine credite: But ſeeing faults done by ſuch as had no reaſon to wiſh me euil, & my grief increaſed by thoſe, who might iuſtlie haue been my comfort; giue me leaue to leaue thoſe, who vnkindly forſooke me, and exhort thē, whom aboad tearmes Engliſh men; nature children; and dutie ſubiects. And herein

She ſpeaketh not to thoſe that haue fled the land.

herein first foreseeing the euils to come, I will renew the speech of the Romane Orator in the like case begũ in the person of *Africanus*. This age hauing receiued into her hande the Common- "
wealth, resembling a table of most cu- "
rious and exact workmanship, yet ob- "
scured (as it were) and darkened with "
old age, doth so blame her selfe that a- "
nie shal go about to renew her colours, "
that she hath not so much as care to pre- "
serue her rude darke dimmed and ob- "
scured shadowes: for what is left now "
of the ancient Romane manners, which "
happely sometime sustained the Com- "
mon wealth? Where is now that wor- "
thie and ancient honor due to the lear- "
ned Student and couragious Souldier? "
These are so long since worne out of "
vse, as *Rome* that sometimes florished, "
seemes now to want the verie remem- "
brance of them. It is needfull therefore "
that I should awake the eternally famo- "
sed personages of olde, who liued once "
honourable to their countrie, but now "

« lye dead, and their vertues buried with
« them, becauſe few or none can be foūd
« to followe their example. Wee liue to
« render an account for this offence, but
« God graunt wee bee not found faultie
« and chaſtiſed for our labour: for it is
« not by chance but by our ſinne, that we
« haue but the apparance of a ſtate well
« gouerned, the trueth whereof we haue
« loſt long ſince. This Orator weighing the vertue and honeſtie of the ancient Romanes, againſt the ambition & ryotous demeanour of his time, found that his feare was not cauſeles, for the ruine of the Common wealth. In like manner may I poore deſolate and diſtreſſed caitife doe, if within my bowels vntimely bred by my owne follie, be found ſignes of greater daunger; and not ſo much remaining as the verie name of honeſtie; for to my vnſufferable & vnpitied griefe, *Modeſtie* & *Sobrietie* are changed into all manner of diſſolution. There could not bee found amongſt them in the ſober times of our forefathers ſuch needles

Rome altered.

The commō wealth miſerable, that hath her foes within her ſelfe.

Exceſſe of theſe times.

needles excesse of all superfluities: for they were sober, frugall, and full of strength, fit to labour the earth and to weild armes, knowing, as *Alexander* the Great made remonstrance to them of *Macedon*, who sawe *Darius* his armie shine with gold, that all that sumptuous showe should bee nothing but a richer spoyle to them which were clad with yron. Late is the time since the Lowe Countries, Images of my state, and a glasse whereby to addresse my selfe; since the Duke of *Burgonie*, as *Cominæus* writeth, could gaine nothing of the *Swizard* for his poore pouertie: And howsoeuer in *Cæsars* time, conquering ambition that ment to make the Romane Eagle pearch vnder the Northpole, could hardly bee content to suffer me to liue free from inuasion, yet now my abundance hath made me an eye sore to my neighbour Kings, and the vaine superfluities of some hath made the world beleeue that my *Albion* cliffes are white rockes of pure Diamont: and

Not safe for a countrey to bragge of wealth if the Spaniard know it.

that vnder pretence of burning coale, my poore inhabitants digge out mines of burnisht gold. *Sparta* howsoeuer thy wise counselling *Licurgus* aduised thee often, yet vntimely didst thou perish by this meanes: And *Rome* late mentioned to honours infamie, thou hadst neuer been spoyled by the *Gaules* sought vnto by thē of *Carthage*, sacked by the *Gothes* & *Vãdals*, if thy streets had not bin hung with tapestrie, thy Matrons brau'd it in their golden chariots, and thy young men vnaduisedly lasciuious (as mine doe at this day) neglect their home borne poore, and brag of their wealth, as to make challenge by proclamation to the whole world; what can this bee, but vntimely set me to saile? make me a pray to the neuer glutted couetous monster? enuies marke; & that which my owne cannot spend fast enough by prodigalitie, that to cause others to rob me of by tyrannie; and that which is worst of al, fewe or none, but distressed I) consider the harmes caused by these

The fault of Empires.

Lawes for sobrietie, the sinewes of a Kingdome.

Plentie and ease the Cakers of a Kingdome.

Proud Kingdomes must fall.

these euils. For to remember the times neuer to be forgotten, when old *Brutus* liu'd, seuere lawes prohibiting these intemperancies (which howsoeuer made in abundance seeme to sleepe at this day) with seuere discipline strengthned the sinewes of my Common wealth, forbidding me thereby to come to dissolution and couetousnesse; imitating their estates who haue highly risen by obseruation of such lawes, and by their continuall paynes, gained that fame, which I loose by my perpetuall ease. O if those ancient lawes, if those strict and seuere customs had renewed their force in the midst of me, they would haue serued to haue remedied my euill, by want whereof I feare my state shall be no better then *Rome* or *Sparta*; betwixt whom (these lawes having lost their vertue) in stead of emulation for woorth in true honor, they proudly bandied vaine titles, striuing which should be most prodigal; and thus each corrupting other, both became so distressed, that they

were compelled to retaile that which they had bought by grosse; and in the end remaine a perpetuall example of a memorable vengeance, and so make *Rome* subiect to *Cæsars Tiberius*, and other tyrannies. Behold a true mirrhor which makes me see my sentence to bee iust; and that there is no plague more deadly poysonful, then pleasure, whose rash desires presume vpon gouernmēt, and not fearing to touch her sacred throne, fill the land ful of treasons; the subiects full of impietie; and in the end doth ruinate the whole state: This I might witnesse by sundrie, whose excessiue pride and intollerable pleasures putrifying the ayre, haue filled their houses with contagion, fiered their walles, and the earth as wearie hath deuoured them vp. But that which besides these (for these I silently passe as being but the faults of some fewe) which doth make my feare to increase daily, & (like the warlike engine that ploweth furrowes in the armie) shall batter downe the

How Rome fell.

Loose pleasure begets treason.

the walles of my peace (if prouision in time preuent not so foule a mischiefe) is the hatefull discord vntying those firme knottes, which once bound my armor so faste about mee, that I contemned open violence, as being too weake to encounter mee, and scorned vndermining treacherie, as beeing too foolish to supplant my prosperitie. For where are now become these renowmed amities of our forefathers? these common resolutions sometime vsuall to mine inhabitants? those iealous mindes impatient of strangers pride? vniting themselues, least forreiners should doe them wrong? what is become of that once vsed true-hearted loue towardes me their countrie? hath not enuie, dissimulation and needeles discord, so shaken the pillars of my age? the staye of mine honor? the fortresse of my Iland? and the posteritie of my land? that my diuines may say, *Ephraim is against Manaßes, Manasses against Ephraim, and both against Juda*; that my tragick-writers

Discord vntieth the armour of a common wealth.

Happy daies.

Miserable state that is so.

ters may compare me to poore *Jocasta*; that *Eteocles* and *Pollinyces* haue both forgotten that one wombe bare them both; smale distance parted but those two teates, which so often gaue them both sucke; nor could that (hatred) after death liuing hatred, possiblie proceede from poore *Iocasta:* And let these speake, (if shame will let them speake) if the least shew of harme, the smallest shadowe of iniurie, if pretence were giuen of the least wrong by my meanes: did I spoyle them of their wealth? and closelie solde them to be a praie to strangers? did I banish without cause, their kinsemen, wiues, or children to liue distressed in a forraine countrie? did I hide nigardly the benefites of my peace, and plentie from them? Let him answer me that is most vnthankeful, hath iust cause been offered on my part, why discorde distracting my inhabitants, shoulde lay me open to the spoile of mine enemies? could their cause proceed from a poore Iland, that I should haue my princesse sur-

Let the traitors accuse me if they can.

A thing done in other countries.

Yet these no causes to be rebellious.

Discorde.

Whom God keepeth in despigth of them.

ſurpriſed by treaſon? my nobilitie defamed by ſlander? my ſtatelie buildings vndermined by tyrannie? and my ſelfe left comfortles to lament my fortune? was it (engliſh men) (for though crueltie forbids, yet kindenes makes mee ſo tearme you) was it (I ſay) any iuſt cauſe, but ſuppoſed, by my meanes? I am loath to vpbraide your vnthankfulnes, by remembring of my fauours. Haue you not had (and ſo long may haue,) vnleſſe your ſelues be iniurious to your ſelues, a Princeſſe truelie nobled with all vertues, a Queene matchles, in whome honors vnſteined pure die, hath ſet foorth ſuch liuely colours, as enemies muſt (and doe) feare: friendes ought and ſhould loue: whome the age now preſent muſt admire, and the time following ſtill praiſing, wonder at; more courteous then the churle-ſauing *Abigal*: more courtly then the friendes-honoring *Heſter*: more valiant then princekilling *Judith*; who bleſſing me by her meanes with a plentious peace, & beau-

A thing oftē attempted. Lybels.

No Iland cā remember greater benefits to her inhabitants.

Elizabeth.

tifying her courte with eternall praiſe, hath made both to bee enuies marke in her enemies eye; the ſhadowing Cedar to her diſtreſſed friends: and the force conquering ſworde to her profeſſed foes. Here might my muſe dare to flie a matchles pitch, but that faintinglie, I feele my *Icarian* wings to melt with the heate of ſo bright a ſunne, this onelie ſhall ſnffice without further repeatings of her worth, thereby to make your faulte far greater conceiued with teares, accented with ſighes; and vttered by truethes naked oratreſſe; that what praiſe euer wiſdome gained (as al praiſe is but wiſedomes due) that ſame is, and ſhall bee your (ſacred princeſſe) her inheritance, who hath ſo often contended whether her glorie might mount higher vnto fames tower, blowne vp with the vowes of mortall men; or her thankes aſcend further vnto heauen, conueyed by thouſand *Seraphins*. Liue thē, though ſorrowfull to ſee mee ſad (diuine and renowmed Empreſſe) earths glorie, religions

No pen able to praiſe ſufficiently.

ligions comfort, admired wisdomes inheritrix, here perpetuallie to bee praised of men, and else where immortallie to be crowned of God himselfe. Haue you not had thousands of worthie and braue ladies bewtifying poore me, who all seeme vestall-like to haue lighted virginities lampe, from the euer-burning taper of chaste *Elizas* vertues? Haue you not had in me (things hardlie found else where) sage and wise *Nestors*, such whose state guiding wisedomes were able to equalize (if it were not your faulte) mee a poore Iland to the former monarchies: were but those famous and neuer enough commended lawes, made by them in their deepe scanning iudgements, practised by you, then how shuld I iustly pride it in my worth, & bee valiantly couragious where now I feare? haue you not had for the space of these many yeares, though but two, yet eternallie famoused vniuersities, *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, where Englands youth haue learned such worthie pre-

No land so many.

Graue and wise Counsellers hath England still had.

The strēgth of a kingdom are lawes, and their execution the meanes to expell feare from her subiects.

England may iustly glory of her three daughters:
1. *Cābridge.*
2. *Oxford.*
3. *Innes of court.*

cepts, as ill beſeemes thē to requite me with ſuch ingratitude? Theſe ſerue to beautifie (in their want) my plentie with their wiſedom, whileſt you (vngratefull you) in your plētie ſeeke through their want, to contemne their wiſedome: here could I iuſtly complaine for them, but that I want teares to expreſſe my owne ſorrowe: for I ſee thoſe who moſt are bound (if benefites receiued might binde) to reſpect them, in the iniurious opinion of learned-modeſt-naked-humilitie wrongfully to depriue them of things neceſſarie: And leaſt they ſhould grow too glorious, to obſcure thē too farre to learnings infamie. I ceaſe to repeate the ſmaller fauours, (matters iuſtly deſeruing a thankfull loyaltie) & content my ſelfe with theſe; that for the greateſt benefites that euer inhabitants enioyed ſince Paradices firſt erection, I diſtreſſed Iland haue (by diſcord of my owne) lamentably indured the greateſt wrongs: my enemies haue ſeene into the ſeed plots of my diſcord long ſince, and

Note this.

A thing miſerable when the Vniuerſities are poore.

A wicked policie.

An vndoubted truth.

The Spaniard.

and haue found them to threaten my ruine; they haue bred diſſentions, and make me nouriſh them to my owne deſtruction, they haue ſtrook fire into the tinder of my ſoft heart, and haue made me blow it till I burne to aſhes. Is it the inequalitie of cōdition that makes this diſcord? Is it the might of ſome few ouerſhadowing the meaner, that fils you with enuie againſt mee? I cannot liue (howſoeuer *Plato* fooliſhly dreamed) but my harmonie muſt bee made of diuers ſounds; my ſinewes muſt bee of ſundrie ſtrength, and my ſtates full of inequalitie: yet for all this the meaneſt can haue no wrong, the greateſt ſhall do no violence; I wil liue neuer to permit a tyrannie: both equal deare to me, whereof neither can ſuffer danger, but I muſt needes periſh: for thus to ſee either my Nobility (a thing not yet heard of) or my Cleargie (a thing too vſuall) or my cities (a thing too commō) or my ſubiects (a thing too lamentable) fondly to diſagree; what is it els but to breede

Pope. Frenchmen. Scots and all laugh at our diſcord.

The cauſe of diſcorde.

A Kingdom cannot ſtand without inequalitie.

The moderation of inequalitie.

Lamentable times.

within my borders wolues, which I banished long since, by my *Edgars* means? and to nourish that flame which consumed *Greece?* I meane the enuie between her two eyes, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, to the great contentment of their sworne enemie *Philip*, the King of *Macedon*; and shall not your hatred, discord, and such like, tennising your owne infamies to make others smile, make me perpetually mourne as solde to sorrowe, and the Spanish *Philip* more ioyfull then the King of *Macedon?* Let vs not stay till we bee vnited by our enemies crueltie, as *Xerxes* oftē caused the Greekish vnion. Shall they perswade you (degenerous mindes to bee perswaded) that it is better to suffer tyrannie of a stranger, then inequalitie of a friend? (Deare countrimen) and so still to be reputed (vntill extreamely you deserue otherwise) in a humane bodie doe the hands, the feete, and the head, fall at discorde among themselues? Is not a wound sometimes as deadly in the heele, (for so perished the

Greece perished by discord.

Beware (true English mē.)

Dangerous cause of vnion.

The praise of inequalitie

the thrise valiant *Achilles*) as dangerous in the head? Are not my parts so vnited amongst themselues, that the least iarre is a fault, the least discord a fall? Were I made so absolute that I could stand, & haue no parts, then might iarres be, and I in tune: were I not a mother that bred you both, then might you dissent, and I not fall. Suppose some part of my Iland hath bewtie of townes, yet other parts haue fertiltie of soile: some place hath wise inhabitants, yet others are valiant: some are plaine, full of all pleasure, yet others are walled, as it were with mountaines, and full of all saftie: some are shadowed with thicke trees: to auoid heat, yet others are compassed with siluer streames, to beget colde: thus all partes of my Iland, and the particulars of my state are such, that each imparting dignitie, all of them make mee partaker of an absolute happines: so that whilst vnitie is maintained amongst my people, I vniuersallie enioye those benefites which I lacke (as loosselie being dispersed)

Equality not to be hoped for of strangers.

sed) by cruell discord: alas: in what Common wealth can equalitie bee founde? Thinke you if I were sould to strangers, you were free from emulation, vnlesse it were by this meanes, by being miserable? the Philosophers sometimes desired this, in their Common wealths: but foolish men are ignorant of the trueth, not sounding into the depth of eternities wisdome, who ordained the inequalitie of things, to preserue each other: amongst the elements is not the fire tempered with the water: in the bodie, the heart cooled by the lightes: in the soule the affections ruled by the reason, and what nature hath done in these, shall wee thinke vntollerable in a Common wealth? Looke but vpon the Low-countries, where vnequall Cantons bred such a fire, (increased by false reporte) that whilst some boasting of their valour, did disgrace others, all haue bin in danger of the enemies conquest: and howsoeuer their gouernours could not easilie see to what this tended,

Low countries dangered by emulation.

ded, yet lamentable experience hath taught them now, that discorde is fatall to a Common wealth. The disagreement of *Jtalie* was the ouerthrowe of their conquering empire: the same made the *Gaules* subiect to *Julius Cæsar*: thus if *Europe*, the grandmother of vs poore Ilands, had not dealt by misconstring her owne friendes, the *Turke* had not so farre made entrance into *Greece*, *Slauonia*, *Hungarie* and other countries, that he should proudely dare to *encounter the *German* Emperor; and stand thereby to threaten vs, like as a tempest vpon the top of a mountaine, readie with his showres, to ouerflow the valleyes. But what firme constancie can bee expected in the vniuersall palsey of all *Europe*? How can kingdomes vnite themselues, when I but one small Iland haue a number of such contrarie mindes to harbor in mee? This might possiblie bee hoped for, if wee had but learned this, that one of vs cannot perish without another: and as wee see in a firme pillard vaulte,

Discord.

**And challenge him.*

1594.

If Christians ioyne not together.

A true rule.

that ſome few ſtones being taken away, the other incontinentlie fall, and then in time ruines the whole worke: ſo fareth it with my ſtate, whoſe contrarie minds may ſeeme ſmallie dangerous at the firſt view, but ſwiftlie (though vnſeene) it doth tumble downe. Surueie but the groundes of our libertie, and foundations of our Common wealth, which were laide by the mercie of God, the valour of our vnion; the reliefe of brethren, and the concord of all: if I were indangered by my allies, and diſtreſſed by the multitude of my acquaintance, (as ſometimes hath beene the ſtate of *Flaunders*) whoſe enemies haue cauſed by corruption her ſuppoſed friendes to diuide her body, ſelling her to them that haue offered the vtmoſt farthing; then might I iuſtly blame (not you) but thoſe whom coloured tearmes chriſtened by the name of friends: but now ſeeing I haue relieued manie, ſent my ſouldiers to take armes, not for my own, but for their good; ſeeing I opened not my

Note.

A thing to be reſpected.

my citie gates, to admit ſtrangers, who were able to commaunde my ſtrongeſt walles, but hoyſte vp my ſayles to conuey out my ſouldiers to defend others; then let not mee periſh by you whom I haue deemed no leſſe deare, then my owne life: trecheries haue taught ſtates, to take heed with whome they ioyne in amitie: and *Demoſthenes* wiſhed the *Greekes* to take heede of this, which if they had wiſely followed *Amintas* ſonne and his ſucceſſors had not oppreſſed *Greece* by a fained amitie. Thus forewarned *Nicolaus vnder vauld* the Flemmings forefathers, to take heede of forrainers, which if they had wiſely followed, ſo many cities of trafficke had not been townes of Garriſons. But my ruine (if it vnhappelie happen, which God forbid) is not by ſtrangers force, for they are too feeble to weaken my ſtate: but by ſuch as I kindely nouriſh in mine owne bowels: for whilſt one holdeth for *Spaine*, another for *France*, the third for the *Lowe Countries*, and euerie

As ſome haue done.

A thing lamentable.

If we our ſelues be vnited.

A thing too miſerable if it ſhould be ſo

quarter of the land, hath ſuch as being diſpleaſed with mee, are deſirous to pleaſe ſtrangers; it muſt needes happen that my ioynts being racked with ſo great a torment, I liue feeble, & confeſſe that mine owne inhabitants did worke my ouerthrowe: the gold and ſiluer of mine enemies is able to preuaile as much (with my vniuſtly tearmed Engliſh men) as in the daies of *Scaurus*. Fondlie are you deceiued with a hope of quiet to your minds, howſoeuer in ſhow they pretend ſo: for credit me that haue tried it long ſince, they meane nothing leſſe.

England can not periſh but by Engliſh men.

The Spaniard is fooliſh to hope ſo.

Note this.

But as *Philip* made the *Athenians* beleeue that he had pretences againſt the *Plotenſes*, *Olynthians*, and others, thereby to paſſe further; but *Demoſthenes* told the citizens, that if *Philip* had once wonne *Olyntha* and *Loreyra*, who demaunded ſuccour of the *Athenians*, hee would not reſt till hee had conquered whole *Grecia*: which by little and little he effected after. And howſoeuer (coũtrimen) *Philip* may perſwade you, that his

his purpose is but onely to reforme religion, and to passe no further: yet vnder this pretence, hauing gottē footing within your walles, harbor within your townes, and hands within your treasuries, you shall finde his entent to be farre otherwise, and neuer (vnles your wiues conspire against them) to bee rooted out. Thus hauing obtained *Corinth*, hee shall after come to ride vpon the backe of *Greece*: or as *Cassius* perswading the *Heluetians*, vnder pretence of alliance, and showe of a good cause, broched a discorde, and so made *France* subiect to the Romane Empire. For if *Maximilian* the Duke of *Austrich* durst say that hee treated of agreement with King *Lewes* the 12. onely to be reuenged of the seuenteen iniuries which he had receiued of the French men (although they were scarce thought to haue done him any) what shall wee thinke the *Spanyard* will performe against vs, of whō he supposeth to haue receiued so many harmes, and so foule dishonors? No (valerous

Trust him not.

Giue him an inch he will take an ell.

An vsuall policy at this day.

and noble Englishmen) credite not so farre, either the hope of Spanish gold, (a canker that hath fretted the greatest kingdomes) or the free passage of religion, a thing neuer thought of by them; but shewe your selues valiant, as earst you haue bin; loyall, as still you should be, then shall you be conquerous, as stil you may be. For *Flanders* had neuer bin so firmely vnited with *France*, if *Lewes* the 12. being but then *Daulphin*, sollicited by Pope *Eugenius*, and *Fredericke* the Duke of *Austrich*, to breake the counsel of *Basill*, and to ouerrun the countrey, had not bin incountred with some fewe Flēmings, and put to such famous flight, that he was constrained to praise their valour, and to make an alliance with them, which continued long after. The like had the French King stirred vp by Pope *Julius*, who considering their ancient magnanimitie, hath desired to be vnited with the Flemmings, as the chief pillar of his crowne and kingdome: this was continued to them in the said man-

Offered to Iudas to betray his Master.

True English men.

Truth in a few is often victorious.

Valour begets loue.

ner,

ner, first obtained by their true valour, by *Henry* the 2. and after by *Charles* the 9. and so lately by these two last *Henries.* In like manner, if you continue as you haue begun, to bee vnited amongst your selues, to be suspitious of forraine flatterie, to distrust (vpon al pretences) the Spanish treacherie; then shall I florish as most fortunate, and cause them sue for my truce. That one conquest (when seas did swel with so great pride) obtained against their Nauie 1588. hath by Fames alarme been sounded in the vtmost parts of the world, & hath made the *Spanyard* desirous of my fauour. And if I bee challenged to buy my peace at too high a rate, I will sooner ioyne with *France*, and lend him (as I haue done) the riches of my land, thē intrapped by *Syrēs* songs, haue my beautie so long cōmended, with *Æsops* Crow to let fall the foode whereupon I liue. And howsoe- *France* by too much sweating is growne drie, and by too great bloudletting is waxen pale, and that for one crowne she hath

As still you haue beene.

Note this.

Dangerous to ioyne with Spaine.

Fraunce poore by warres.

hath ſpent ſo manie, that now ſhe is ſcarce able to giue her ſouldiers pay. And howſoeuer *Flanders* falſely will ſel their friends to buy their peace: yet let vs make this a rule of eſtate, that when the might of one kingdome extraordinarilie groweth great, the leſſer ſhould vnite themſelues, as the ſmaller beaſts againſt the enemies they feare. And though *Spayne* may ſeeme conſtantlie prodigall, (a wonder prodigalitie to be conſtant) (and neuer poſſible without ſupplie of the *Indian* gold) and *France* too poore and needie, yet thinke that ciuill warres hauing been ſo long within her bowels, are only the cauſes of all this miſerie. I compare not the greatnes of theſe two kingdomes (howſoeuer there may bee matter wherein to ballance them) but I am ſure of this (as the caſe ſtands) I haue farre leſſe cauſe to ſuſpect the *Frenchman* then the *Spanyard*: for his intent hath been as it was towards them of the Lowe Countries, when (*Carles* the fift and the Pope concluded

Not ſo faithfull as they ſhould be.

Why Spaine is ſo conſtant in her free offers.

No great ods betwixt thē if they had equall peace.

Beware of them both.

cluded to ouerthrow and disperse them by their owne meanes : the pretence was religion, the commission was granted to the Bishop of *Terracina:* such like policies (as they thought) were not easily found out. I cease to repeate and shame to vtter the sundrie offers that haue been made to my owne countrie men, feeding them with vaine hope and vncertaine promises, to sell my wealth, my honour, my dignitie, and what I reputed excellent to the enemies hand; the present times, and the feare & danger scarce past, make me I must remember it. Nor are the malicious practises against me, such, as zeale somtime kindled for Religions sake ; but in those daies when *Spayne* and I were both of one minde, he courted me with tearmes halfe deceiuing my simplicitie ; he ambitiously sued to obtaine my fauour; he spake me faire but ment falsely ; he was treacherous, I suspitious, and so we parted : and doe those now within my bounds (who tearme themselues Ca-

To Parry, Babington, &c.

Lopez executed the 7. of Iune 1594.

Spaine not onely an enemie for religion.

 tholikes

tholikes at this day) perſwade themſelues that any religion were able to protect them from Spaniſh tyrannie? Looke a little into the Low Countries, (theſe I mention often, as taſting fullie of the Spaniſh furie) how did religion warrant them from the crueltie of *Landeburg*, *Griſler*, *Rottenburge*, and others? and how haue they of late time bin free from inuaſion for religions ſake? Haue they not readilie imbraced that which they call the Catholike religion? & are they for all this free from the enemies inuaſion? Haue they not yeelded their townes, payd ſufficientlie for their preſumption? and hath not *Spayne* maintained her ſtraggling ſouldiers by their ſpoyle? Haue they not intertained any religion (nay, is it not feared they are willing to forſake all) to pleaſe the King of *Spayne*, and are they for all this any more quiet? Did poore *America*, who powred foorth her bowels to content them, purchaſe her quiet, with the imbracing of their religion? nay, together

Too great ſimplicitie to thinke ſo.

Take heede by others.

Inconſtancie in religion is the mother of Atheiſme.

ther with the intrals of her earth, did ſhe not ſhed the pureſt of her bloud to ſatisfie thoſe *Spaniſh* bloud-hounds? This, trueth hath tolde vs, out of the vntrue mouth of their owne Biſhops. Hath religion ſaued lawfull Princes that they haue not violently been expelled their owne kingdomes, by the Spaniſh tyrannie? What countrie ſoeuer had to deale with them (as fewe there bee which are free from them) haue been forced to confeſſe that *Spayne* is humble till ſhe get footing; but thē ambitiouſly proud: that ſhe pretends religion and promiſeth largely, but that ſhe cares for no religion and performes it ſparingly: yet her falſe zeale, ſmoothing her face ouer to the ſimple view, hath made her vnited to ſome; deare to many; and vnſuſpected to all. But ſuch practiſes haue been a tyrants cloake, which they haue caſt about thē to deuoure the Church. Such pretēces haue bin masking weeds which they haue worne in policie, the better to caſt lottes for the Common-

The Spaniſh colonie.

Note this.

wealth, then (credulous & vnwise countrie men) (for so I may iustly tearme you if you beleeue them) if either you meane to haue me liue, or see amongst you my sister the Church to remaine and florish, credit no pretence whatsoeuer: admit no strangers to see the secrets of my land: approue none in hope to gaine your falsely pretended religion; when you shal findethey slander me but of inconstancie, your brethren of heresie, themselues of pietie, and only to this end, the more easilie to spoyle mee, and the more deadly to poyson the Church: did not the *Babylonians* thus accuse Gods people of false religion? the *Iewes* and the *Romaines*, haue they not vnder this pretēce accused our Sauiour and his owne disciples? Is not damned *Mahomet* a cause at this daye, why the *Turke* hath conquered so many countries? and if there be one amongst them (as it may bee there are some few) who are desirous of our good, and wish vs the trueth (as they terme it) of the catholike

An exhortation to England.

Spaniards like Iewes.

tholike religiō, yet there are a thousand *Hamans* who will enterprise the ruine of the *Jewish* nation, accuse them to the King of *Persia*, that they haue a religion differing from his; but it is by reason of the hate, conceiued against iust *Mardocey*: thus religion was made a cloake for treacherous and intollerable pride: thus *Absolon* the patterne of these courtly politicks stoode pittying the *Jewes* at the courte gate, as though he had desired the helping of their estate, but it was nothing else but an ambitious humour to obtaine a kingdome; in like manner deale the *Spaniards* with my catholikes so tearmed at this day, they stand and court them, and say with *Absolon*, your cause is good, but there is none that pitties you: O if I had the gouernement of these things, then should *England* obtaine hir auncient religion, and then would followe their former plentie: and thus the Iland that is now distressed euery day in feare of forraine inuasion, should be able to meete the e-

Spanish Haman.

They pretēd Religion but intend trechery.

Absolon a right Spaniard.

Take heede: trust thē not.

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Absolon a right Spaniard.

Take heede: trust thē not.

nemie in the gate; the consciences that are now distracted, bee quieted, by obtaining of true pardon: so shuld heresies be rooted out from amongst you, peace should be within your walles, and plentie within your gates: false-deceiuing smooth-tonged heart-stealing *Spanish-Absolon* (I deserue pardon, if my weake womanish nature in feare of my state, in loue to mine inhabitants, in care of so good a cause should carrie mee to tearme thee by worser titles) but answer treacherous and state-corrupting golde-offering *Spaniard*, dost thou perswade thy selfe (fondly deceiued to bee so perswaded) that my true inhabitants can be resolued of thy good meaning? Dost thou thinke that euer they hope for peace in the middest of strangers? For plentie in the middest of tirants? For religion in the middest of Atheists? Nay it neuer hath been nor neuer shall be: therefore resolue thy selfe, that howsoeuer some within my borders doe heartilie desire, and earnestlie expect a free-

Let Spaine answere.

Note this.

freedome of their conscience: yet these are neuer so foolish to thinke it possible, to be obtained by your meands, nor so profanelie wicked, to admit of so bad a cause. And although some few (and I perswade my selfe they are very fewe) may be found perhaps, as either being Atheists without God, or Iewes without Christ, or monsters without naturall affection, who can bee content to pearce my bowels through my Princesse side, and so let forth my peace, or laie violent hands vpō mine anointed, to make my children to eate themselues; yet resolue thy selfe (and vainelie foolish to resolue otherwise) that the most estranged Englishman from naturall loue, who hath lost his affection by long trauaile, or the loose stchristian I harbor, *Note this.* who hath lent his affection to all pleasure, or the most desperate, whom need and extremitie haue made careles, or the deuoutest Catholicke, whom deceiuedlie zeale and conscience haue made religious, shal euer so farre estrange them *Impossible to be so.*

selues

ſelues from an Engliſh minde? So much be alienated from my long bred loue? And laſtlie ſo cruellie to wiſh me euill? That they would open my gates to ſtrangers? Proſtrate my wealth to the *Spaniard*; and exchange my peace for moſt cruell tirannie? Nay if they were all in armes and had vowed to admit a ſtranger, and the ſtranger readie (as perhaps you were, 1988.) to accept by policy, what you intended to keep by crueltie: yet if I ſhould but frowne as diſcontented, & ſay *quid agitis*? And name but *England*, the worthie loue of me, deriued from their forefathers, would ſo farre pearce into the Engliſh harts, that their ſwordes drawne forth againſt mee their mother, would ſpeedilie bee ſheathed in you their murtherers: for if in all ages (ſauing onelie in this laſt, and amongſt you) faith and promiſe hath been religiouſlie obſerued, to their verie enemies, then can you thinke they will falſifie the ſame to mee that bred them? And as for you who haue ſurpaſ-

Let the Spaniard credit me.

S. George.

ſed

ſed the falſe *punicane* gaining that brand of trecherie, which once was (*Carthage* due, reſolue vpon this poynt, that hee which puniſhed the faith broken to the *Turkes* (at the Popes perſwaſion by them of *Hungarie*) by putting to flight *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, and ſlaying Cardinall *Julian* the Popes Legate (who brought the meſſage) hee I ſay ſhall neuer ſuffer ſo great an iniurie vnpuniſhed, to me their mother. Let me then in kindenes perſwade you (my deare countrie men) that if trecherie be moſt odious, thē that eſpeciallie which ouerturneth a Common wealth: if ingratitude bee hatefull both to God and man, then that which is of children to their mother: if credulitie bee a fault and argues want of experience, then to truſt a ſtranger, a falſe diſſembling and deceitfull tirant, muſt reproue vs of great leuitie: loue peace then & loue my peace, follow vnitie, but within my walles, for if neither inequalitie of condition, emulation of partakers, nor religion ought

Fides Hiſpanica.

God himſelfe will puniſh traytors.

Note this.

to disunite vs, then this onely remaineth for you; that you be vnited with loue amongst your selues; tyed with affection towards your mother, bound with a sacred reuerence towards your Soueraigne, and carried with a wise suspition towards a stranger: so shall prosperitie bee mine inheritance; plentie the legacie bequeathed to my meanest friends; and England as a citie at vnitie within it selfe: thus shall the vnion of *Iuda* & *Israel* make the people round about them to quake and tremble; this made *Rome* to cōquer *Africa*, the *Greekes* to preuaile against *Xerxes*; & the Princes of *Europe* to preuaile against the *Turke* at *Lepantho*: which victorie had been farre more glorious, if vntimelie discord had not fallen amongst them. Thē banish this, vnite your selues, yeeld not to gilded colours and false pretences; whether of religion or of friends, or of promise, and especially with them whō we know to be our enemies: let vs bring against glittering hate-working gold,

O happie England if this happen.

Discord fatall to great attempts.

gold, the anciēt magnanimitie of braue *Fabricius*, who would neuer bee moued by the offers of King *Pyrrhus*. Thus ought you couragiously to vnite your selues, if you loue the glorie of your conquests, the sweetnes of your libertie, the happines of your quiet, the liues of your wiues and children: and if none of all these can moue you, yet thinke that I weepe for your sake the milke that sometime was your foode: that I sweate for your feare the bloud that bred yours: that I sigh for your cause the ayre that gaue you breath. And as for my owne part (sillie destressed as I am) I haue considered the threatnings of God against my subiects liues: the tokens sent me not long since: the wonders that heauen shewed: the lowde speech that the dumbe creatures vsed, and all onely for this end, that I fearing might perswade you, and you perswaded might make mee to liue without feare: yet I relie not so farre vpon Astrologicall reason, as vpon the strange

The late mortalitie more lamentable then the losse of Aegypts first Borne.

ſtarre 1572. the Comets that haue appeared ſince: the great thunder 1584. the terrible Earth-quake the firſt of March the ſame yeare: the ſtrange inundations not long ſince: the fearefull mortalitie that hath hewed downe my talleſt Cedars, and moued (as it were) the leſſer plants: yet I take theſe to bee meanes to humble me, leaſt in pride of courage I ouerweiningly doe loue my ſelfe. And now (daughters) ſeeing I grow faint, I will cauſe two to ſpeake in my behalfe, committed to me from eternities boſome: *Religion* and *Loyaltie*, (daughters) hearken, and theſe briefly ſhall ſpeake vnto you.

RELI-

RELIGIONS SPEECH TO ENGLANDS CHILDREN.

AT what time, Loue brought mee from Eternities bosome, and commaunded me like a Queene to dwell in earth, I then easelie foresawe (which I now finde) that all harmes, miseries, wants, tragedies, and what else soeuer the worlde deemeth hatefull, should bee falsely supposed to proceede out of my wombe: and seeing I haue now liued so long till I finde it trew, pardon mee to make mine apologie thus farre, that since the day of my first birth, since I first shined weekely in these coastes, since the time I was called (as I am) by *Religions* name, I neuer cau-

Religion brought frō beauenly loue.

Religion falsly accused.

Religions Apologie.

Religion no true cause of miseries in a common wealth.

caused either Kingdome to be desolate, Prince to bee distressed, people to despaire: or any priuate persō to be malecontent. In deede I must needes acknowledge thus much, that at what time I was sent into earth, sinfull man by reason of his immortalitie, desirous of a deitie, and not able by the weakenes of his vnderstanding, to admit of me, forged vnto himselfe a false, cruell, irreligious, vaine, proud superstitious strumpet, and fondly deluded, tearmed her by my name; then seeing her to haue such prerogatiue, finding her to rule ouer so many subiects, and fearing shee would banish mee to Heauen, from whence I first came; wee haue been still in continuall warres: I found those who haue been forward in my cause, who haue plentifullie bestowed their wealth to maintaine mee, and who haue not feared to dye to doe mee good. And shee perswading, that Trueth sent her to direct them, hath so much preuailed with a great number, that howsoeuer for other

Note this.

Mans ignorance makes false religiō.

Superstition.

Religion and superstition at continuall warres.

In England many religious fauorers.

ther faultes (in the bloodie woundes of an afflicted conscience) there is none either so careles without remorse, or so profanely wicked without feare, but that relenting at the faultes which they haue done, remaine grieued: yet falselie suborned by her meanes, neither the most fatall warres, dragging the infants from their mothers breasts, drawing them from out their wombes, slaying them in their cradles, rauishing their wiues and daughters: wasting their countries, burning their houses, defacing their temples, violating their sepulchers: performing all crueltie: forgetting all curtesie to those that were borne amongst them: nor the ciuill slaunders in the time of peace performed against them in malicious manner, who sought my prosperitie aboue their owne safety: these and such like I say (and if ought else can bee thought of greater then these are) are done (and without remorse) vpon the false surmise of true Religion. Iudge now, if euer

Harmes for religion grieue not either the doer or the sufferer.

Miserable blindnes.

So doth Romealdus Scotus.

Superstition is most zealous.

uer creature of my innocencie (and I may boldly ſtand to iuſtifie my own integrity) hath had greater cauſe to complaine of wrong: more iuſt reaſon to ſuſpect violence: & more true grounds of vndoubted feare then I, that haue ſued and am not heard, haue lowdely ſpoken and not regarded, haue infinitelie deſerued and not rewarded: It is obiected againſt me that the firſt murder was committed by my meanes, that *Cayn* had neuer laide violent hands vpon *Abel*, if in religion he had not been farre more righteous. And if the *Perſians* had not ſuppoſed that to bee prophane which the *Greekes* beleeued to bee moſt holy, *Xerxes* had not come from *Aſia* to *Grecce*, he had not ſpoyled their townes, burnt their temples, and done them thouſand wrongs (but falſely ſuppoſed by my meanes:) Thus diſcord grew betwixt the *Egyptians* and the *Hebrues*, and both contended which ſhould bee my followers: but if I had not been proudly confronted with a baſe ſtrumpet, and that

Among the Atheiſts of this age.

A falſe accuſation of religion.

Xerxes.

Zeale falſe.

that my honour had not been therein hazarded, wherein it was infamie to cōtend, I had quietly rested, though with some disgrace, and had liued contented, though with losse of credit. Nay, rather giue me leaue womanlike to complain (though hopelesse without reliefe) of wrongs offered to my person; in stead of offering, I haue suffered; in stead of doing, I haue receiued such manifest violence, such apparant wrongs, such secret disgraces, such open iniuries; as when I shall make report what I haue indured for my names sake, the red sea shall disagree (as once it did) and part a sunder, the Sunne shall be amazed (as sometimes it was) and stand still: Nay, shame shall darken it, and it shall hide it selfe to heare the reports but what I haue suffered: at first I was put to flie out of *Ægypt* with sixe hundred thousand besides women and children, pursued by *Cencres* the King of *Ægypt*: and if heauen in the middest of my distresse had not made the raging sea to be a drie

Religion impatient of an indignitie.

The wrongs are infinite which religion hath suffered for being called relig.

Religion hath had cōtinuall and great enemies.

Anno mundi 1517.

God knoweth how to deliuer his.

land, so many had perished for my sake. But then I must needes confesse after a tempest came a calme, for humiliation I had honor, authoritie for feare, and in stead of *Ægypt* I possessed *Canaan*: and although the power of my almightie, from whence I came, casting a snaffle into the mouth of the red sea, made him that he durst not attẽpt to doe me violence, yet I liued not long in the land of *Canaan*, but like a Nightingale, I had thornes to awake me, to keepe me singing, and soone after false she that tearmed her self by my name, caused dissention amongst her children, & brought me in daunger by my owne followers; thẽ were my fauorers diuided, together with *Roboam* and *Jeroboam* their Kings: not long after was I with *Jsrael* cut off from the house of *Dauid*, and first transported intõ *Assyria*, where I remained captiue; then with *Iuda* making my habitation within *Jerusalem*, I was pitifully afflicted, lamentablie spoyled, & cruellie taken by *Nabuchadnezzar* the King of

Affliction may endure for a time, but deliuerance is not farre from Gods church.

So the fier for the three children.

Superstition maketh dissention in the Church.

Libertatis amor stultũ quid decipis orbem.

1 *King.* 24.

of the *Assyrians*, who pulled downe her walles, burned her temple & the Kings pallace, tooke away the golden vessels dedicated by *Salomon* to my vse, put out *Sedechias* eyes, bound him with brasen chaines, and spoyled the bookes of my lawe, which after miraculously were restored by my Scribe *Esdras*: thus was I handled by the Greekes, *Alexanders* successors ruling in *Syria*, who would haue compelled my people to haue yeelded to their maners, especially that proudly famous (and so tearmed) King *Antiochus*, who tooke the ornaments and vessels of the Temple which had been restored by them of *Persia*, ruinating againe *Jerusalem* new built, forbad my burnt offerings, sacrifices, and such like, to deface me, and make me basely an exile to the Greekish ceremonies: neither was I onely thus handled by them, but those who at this day are my sworne enemies, I meane the Romanes, who extended their Empire into that corner where I dwelt, placing their Images

2.Chron.36.

Religion still persecuted

How Gods enemies seek to deface all parts of religion.

The Romans enemies to religion.

within my Temple, setting their Eagles quer my portals, from whence proceeded abundance of superstitions: but I had been throughly wounded before that, by my owne countrimen at Christs death, who had giuen mee so great a blow, as that (in iustice) for my sake they were sacked by the *Romanes*, and to this present wheresoeuer they abide, they are poore, practising base trades, as *Vsurie*, and *Broaking*, made subiect to extreame tributes, paying continual tasks, and yet without houses, lands, or other possessions, not retaining so much as the shadowe of a Common wealth, since that I cruelly was banished frõ amongst them: yet notwithstanding all the calamities which they suffered, could not keepe them from contending amongst the Christians; they grounded their false poynts vpon the old Testament, so that after al this they were chased from *France*, *England*, *Spayne*, by reason of blasphemies which they vomited out against Christ Iesus: thus the *Mahometists*

The Iewes sinne the cause of their punishment.

Iewes Vsurers.

A miserable state where there is no religion.

Many of thẽ still persist in their sinnes.

tists tearmed my people Miscreants, & vowed themselues for their sworne enemies. And howsoeuer these were harmes, which in the weaknes of my fauourers I could not defende without flight, yet if among Christians themselues, I had not been pursued with as great hatred at this time, I should not neede to haue complained of wrong: But now seeing bloudie warres haue happened betwixt those that were my owne children, where I their mother intreating in most kind tearmes, was not free from daunger, nor could exempt them from spoyle, let the world iudge, if euer any receiued greater wrong, thē I haue suffered. The *Greekes* and the *Romanes* both contended so long for my fauour, till both were content to forsake me quite, and to make me perish if it had been possible; (for vndoubtedly I had dyed but that I was immortall). *Arrius* came from *Egypt* to sheath his sword within my bowels; he had no sooner giuen alarme to assault me, but that multi-

Religion in great danger amongst her owne friends.

Contention the ground of Atheism.

Arrius: and so Heretikes grow mighty in the midest of contentions.

Heretikes neuer want followers.

multitudes flocked vnto him to bee his followers: the East Church wherein I sometime gloried, lost her beautie and her loue in so ample manner, by this meanes, that pitifully to my wrong, *Constantius* the Emperour became an *Arrian*. Iudge if it were not lamentable that I, who sometimes was highlie fauored, accounted of in their assemblies, & wholly relied vpon their integritie, became so distressed by his meanes, that openly to doe me wrong, 105. Bishops became *Arrians*: & if *Alexãdrias* Bishops (religious *Alexander*, and learned *Athanasius*) had not encountered his forces with a matchles valour, I had then vtterly perished in those countries: from hence proceeded the fatall calamitie of my fortune: *Councels* against *Councels*: *Confessions* against *Confessions*; *Accusatiõs*, *Defences*, *Banishments*, and cruell *Martyrdomes*. Doe you heare and credit me, and yet for all this take me to haue offered wrong, & suffered none? Nay, when I (fearfull) had taken my selfe into the inner

Constantius an Arrian.

105. *Bishops Arrians.* Holar. contra Constãtium. *Alex. Athan.*

Iudge if religion haue not suffered wrong.

inner parts of *Europe*, for feare of harme; then came the *Persians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and *Ægyptians* called *Sarracins*, vnder pretence to inlarge the honour of their *Mahomet*, occupied all *Africke*, passed into *Spayne*, where they conquering, from thence came to *Tours* in *France*, where if they had not been discomfited, of three hundred and sixtie thousand persons by *Charles Martel*, I had then perished. After this I began to growe more valiant, and my worthie *Godfrey*, with the rest of his Lordes confederate, at the instance of Pope *Urban*, drewe from *France* an incredible army, passed by sea and land after many trauailes, to the furthest partes of the westerne coast, from *Syria* to the frontiers of *Arabia* and *Persia*, where by my *Godfreys* true valarous armie I wonne *Jerusalem*: neither was there then droppe of blood shed, by any Christian in my quarrell, which I haue not intreated *Fame* to recorde, to my posteritie: nor was it either lesse vēturous or honorable, which

Religion no where safe in earth.

A famous victory.

After King of France.

Godfrey of Bolloygne.

Whereof sweet Tasso song.

Martyrs all.

Eng-

Englands first *Richard* against the *Turkes* attempted for my cause: and howsoeuer I may bee thought to loue discord, and to make dissention, yet in respect of the fauour that I found then, in regarde of the kindenes (countrie men) I receiued at your hands, I haue been willing to rele vpon you, and desirous to dwell amongst you: that whilst other countries loosing their *Religion* haue lost their *Peace*, and lacking peace, their Religion hath quite perished; *England* hath beene a Garden of *Oliue* branches, fensed with walles against violence, shadowed with a Cedar against heate; watred like Paradise against barrennes, and preserued with true Loyalty against rebellion. And whilest *Greece*, *Lacedemon*, and *Athens* haue been at discorde: *Carthage*, and *Parthia*, with thē of *Rome*, the *French* with the *Italian*, the *Almayn* with the *Switzard*: *Africa* with *Spayn*: the *Turke* with the *Christians*, the *Persians* with the *Turke*: the *Zauolians* with the *Persians*, the *Muscouit* with the *Polon*: and

Religion hateth discord.

England the seate of religion.

The happines of England by religiōs meanes.

The discorde of other countries.

and the *Tartar* with them both: in the meane time *England* for my ſake hath found a peace, hath ſitten at eaſe, and had leaſure to looke at their falles. And I earneſtlie pray (as I haue good cauſe) that peace being my childe, beget not plentie, and that be a meanes for to baniſh mee: for when a countrie through Religion hath obtained peace, through peace hath plentie, and through plenty is growne rebellious; then God by ſeditions and change of ſtate, by inundations of floods, by famine, plague, and ſuch like, he bringeth them (in fauor) to a ſmaller number, leaſt in pride & multitude they ſhould growe for to ſcorne mee. Thus haue I ſome times taſted of their harmes, and though I haue liued ſafe this 36. yeares, that no forraine enemie was able to roote mee from the land of mine inheritance: yet I haue bin ſtil ſo vnited to your dread ſoueraigne, ſo in fauour with my valiant champions, that none oppoſed themſelues againſt mee, but firſt committed treaſon

England in peace.

Peace the child of religion begetteth plentie that kils the grandmother.

England note this.

In the dayes of our dread Soueraigne.

Eſſex, Willowbie, Norris, Sir Francis Vere, &c.

against her: and though at my intreatie she was content to pardō them my fault, yet Iustice and conscience both would, that they all should perish that wish her euill. Then howsoeuer (thereby to bee dearer to false religion) they make the worlde beleeue, that they dye for my cause, yet I cannot chuse but I must needes renownce them: *Martyrs I haue had, that haue dyed in my quarrell; yet neuer any that intangled himselfe to destroye a Prince.* I haue wept while tirants haue slaine my children: yet I neuer saw them to be found rebellious: giue mee leaue then openly to disclame those out of my fauour, to cancell them out of honors booke, to renounce them from being my followers, who haue traitorously conspired with my sworne enemies: who treacherouslie haue intended their Princes death: who rebelliouslie haue taken armes against my sides, who falsely haue expected to see mee fall: these I pronounce, not to bee my sonnes, and I must tell the Worlde, that

A false slander to make traytors Martyrs.

Neuer martyr was a traytor.

Iustitia Britannica.

that they dyed not for my ſake. And becauſe *Rome* hath lately noted thoſe with the title of Martyrs, whom rebellious malice cauſed to bee treacherous to their Prince; I muſt needes bee plaine that the world may ſee, *Rebellion* and not *Religion*, *Treaſon* & not *Trueth*, was the cauſe of their vtter ruine. Cuſtome hath made it a thing common, & the communitie hath made it a thing credible, that the worſe things haue masked vnder good names, that ſingularitie is tearmed zeale; diſobedience freedome of conſcience; rebellion, ſinceritie of profeſſion, and open treaſon to be pure religion. Thus was the notorious rebellion in *England*, (after affecting the Iriſh) ſuppoſed to be the ſigne of a Catholike trueth, wherein though many ſuffered the iuſt recompence of ſo foule deſert, yet the Queene was merciful and forgaue ſome. How can I then make an apologie in their behalfe? how can I ſay, theſe fauoured religion, who ſought to roote out the Prince, & land,

Campia. Martyrium.

Anvſuall fault.

where I had dwelt of a long continuance? I conceale their names as loath posteritie should remember an Englishman to be so disloyall. And herein the Pope, that should haue been most religious, was a chief dealer to subuert me, sending ouer pardons, absolutions, and such like, to exempt the subiects of this realme from their true obedience. And the better cõtinually to performe what he intended, Seminaries were erected vnder pretence to doe me good, which haue harboured (howsoeuer some of them learned) such politique, subtile, treacherous, and disloyall people, that hauing swarmed from thence as from a hiue, & pretending (as they haue said) the Catholique good of their owne countrimen, haue infected them with such pernicious poyson, moued them to such great treasons, perswaded them to those attempts; that if heauen had not withstood them with a mightie power; if God had not detected them with a pearcing eye; if the Lord had not confounded

Gregorie 13.

Pius 5.

Sixtus 5.

Exceeding pittie.

Miraculous preseruation of Gods Church.

founded them with a mightie arme: then had I (in all likelihood) been banished from this Iland, then had *England* perished, her Prince, her subiects, & that most cruelly by the meanes of her own countrimen. These were they, who iustly conuicted of treason, by lawes made 200. yeare since, in the time of *Edward* the 3. do openly (but wrongfully) boast that they haue suffered for religion: & yet I may say this, that such as repenting their follie, shewed a sorrowe, and were willing to performe amendment, were pardoned, a thing not to be expected in so great a fault; although (iniuriouslie) some of them haue not been ashamed to say, that neuer religion was persecuted more, then vnder the most vertuous, peaceable, milde, mercifull, & religious gouernment of Queene *Elizabeth*: nay, I can confidently say this, that in stead of punishing those who haue not offended, she hath suffered many to keepe their religion stil, to liue without danger of law, and such as haue

I feare to thinke of it.

Iusticia Britannica.

A greater number.

Stapleton. Parsons.

This can not be denied.

professed themselues to be Romish Catholiques; aske but that graue and reuerend father *Nicholas Heath* somtimes Archbishop of Yorke, and Lord high Chancellor of *England*, he must needes confesse (and vndoubtedly would doe it, if he now liued) that he tasted of his Soueraignes clemencie in so great a measure, that those who for religion tearme her to be cruel, are such as seeke by all meanes possible to defame her gouernment. *Pole* the Bishop of Peterborough: *Cuthert Tonstall* a reuerend graue man, *VVhite*, *Oglethorp*, *Thurlbie*, *VVatson*, *Turberuile*, *Fecknam*, such as all of them had been zealous against mee, yet she pardoned them their liues, because they had not traiterously sought hers: for since the beginning of her raigne to this present day, there is no man able to proue (howsoeuer some haue bin malicious to affirme the same) that Queene *Elizabeth* hath for religion onely, put any to death of the Romish sectaries. It were long for me to repeate

In Queene Maries time.

Slander is neuer tongue tied.

In their libel against the English Iustice.

repeate (things alreadie ſufficientlie knowne) wherein *Rome* hath ſo malitiouſlie dealt to ſuborne her Ieſuits, that from them, this 36. yeares, *England* hath had the greateſt cauſe to feare the ſubuerſion of her whole ſtate. *Pius* the fift (vngodly and cruell in this poynte) intended to free the ſubiects of this land, from their allegiance to their dread Soueraigne: a thing abhorring againſt diuinitie, a matter neuer heard of, with any of my followers, and hated euen of the heathen themſelues, who neuer taſted of my trueth: to graunt pardon, and openlie to auouch it: to ſubiectes and againſt their Prince, and to Engliſh men againſt their owne countrie, it is ſuch a faulte as former time neuer thought of: the age preſent dooth abhor, and ſhall make thereat the dayes inſuing to be aſtoniſhed: & it were too lamentable to be thought of, Religions ſuperſtition ſhould make any ſo feare-full of the Popes authoritie: *Fraunce*, howſoeuer thou art now diſtracted into

Papa pius moritur quintus, res mira tot inter pontifices, tantum quinque fuiſſe pios.

Leaue giuen to Parſons, Campion by Gregorie 13. 1580. April 14. to interpret the bull of Pius 5.

to

to small peeces, yet in the daies of thy second *Henry*, thou hadst little feare of the Popes Bulles, when impatient of his proude and vsuall vsurping within thy territories, thou didst not onely by edict, decrees, parliaments, proclamations, disanull his supreame authoritie, but denied him stoutlie those yearelie reuenewes, which he exacted out of thy dominions. And *Philip* thou which now gouernest *Spayne*, and fondly intendest to be the worlds Monarch, what minde then didst thou beare against the Pope, when sending with thy Duke of *Albanie* an Armie into the coasts of *Italy*, thou spoyledst their towns, destroyedst their fields, sackedst their cities, and with thy canons girt them within the compasse of their owne walles? This shewed to the world how little (being offended) thou esteemedst of the Popes Bulles: and thy father, that worthie *Charles* the 5. tooke Pope *Clemence* captiue, and the whole Colledge of Cardinals, & made him pay for his ransome 400000. Duckets,

Henry the 2. King of Fraunce his edict against the Pope. Anno. 1550.

King Philip once feared not the Popes Buls.

Duke of Albany with an armie against the Pope.

1527. Whom he kept in Adrians tower 7. moneths.

kets,& valued the Cardinals at a higher rate. And leaſt thou which art openlie my profeſſed enemie, ſhouldeſt thinke that *Englands Elizabeth* wanteth preſidents of her countrie, valiantly to withſtand, and ſcornfully to make account of the roring of thy Bulles: remember but the time of Queene *Mary*, (a gracious Soueraigne if ſhe had not been blinded by thy meanes) when thou wert offended with her coſin Cardinall *Pole*, and in diſgrace of him ſent vnto *Petie* a begging Frier, the Cardinals Hat: ſhe croſſed thee in thy purpoſe, and made ſmall account of thy great threats. I could alleadge the worthie *Henry* the 8. regeſtred in Honors Catalogue to liue for euer: how couragiouſly to aduance me, he ſhaked off thy ſeruile yoake, and exempted his ſubiects from the Romiſh tyrannie. But to let theſe paſſe, (as matter apparant without proofe) I muſt needes complaine of two notorious enemies, ſuch, as in the daies of peace, haue done me the greateſt wrong that

Let the Pope marke this.

Cardinall Pole offended with the Pope.

Henry the 8. ſhaked off the Pope.

Religions enemies.

euer woman suffered: and least wondering thou stande amazed how this should be, in the land of knowledge in *Elizas* raigne, I meane the prophane Atheist, and the zealous (but falsely) Puritane. And although I poore *Religion* am not so good a states man, that willingly I intermeddle with matters of the common wealth, yet I must say thus much in the true defence of my selfe, that since prophane *Machiuell* hath obtained so much credit amongst the greatest states men of all *Europe*, Atheisme hath perswaded the world of my death, & tolde Princes that there was no religion. Can any counsell bee more pernicious to a Common wealth? more dangerous to a Countrie? more fatall to a Prince? then onely to relie in causes of greatest importance vpon his owne wisedome? to seeme to haue that religion in shew, which he neuer meaneth to imbrace in trueth? to preferre Heathens before me? to ascribe felicitie to fortune, and not to vertue and true religion? And these

The Atheist and the Puritan so called.

Religion no states man but of counsell with thē.

Dangerous for a Prince.

Machiuell confuted.

theſe with diuers others of like impuritie that prophane Atheiſt broched vnto the world, which was no ſooner drunke by the ſtates of *Europe*, but ſome of their kingdomes haue come to ruine. Nay, I will take vpon me without preſumptiō to prophesie thus farre, that the greateſt kingdom that *Europe* hath; the moſt mightie people that euer was; and the moſt famous common wealth that euer floriſhed, ſhall all of them by contemning religion, become deſolate. And howſoeuer I will not preſume ſo farre, proudly to make (with *Bellarmine*) temporall proſperitie a note of the true Church, ſeeing ſhe is ordained to ſuffer many calamities, vnder the hands of tyrants; yet I dare ſay thus much, that religious Princes, while confidently in a good cauſe, they haue fullie relied vpon Gods aſsiſtance, they haue notablie triumphed ouer all their enemies: thus in the old Teſtament, *Abraham*, *Moſes*, *Joſua*, *Gedeon*, *Samuel*, *Dauid*, *Ezechias*, *Joſias*, and the *Machabees*, all triumphed

States in Europe ruinated by Machiuell.

A certaine propheſie.

Note this.

Relig Princes doe ſtill triumph.

Gen.
Exo.
Ioſ.
Iudg.
King.
Machab.

ouer multitudes of their enemies, because I (howsoeuer contemned by prophane *Machiuel*) was the sole conductor of all their armies: thus almost (as *Moses* did *Pharaoh*) in these latter times *Constantinus* ouercame *Maxentius*. The like might bee spoken of *Theodosius* the elder, of whome *Theodoret* maketh honorable mention, of many priuiledged fauours he obtained for his true profession: thus in the dayes of *Theodosius* the younger, when the *Sarracins* came to helpe the *Persians*, against whome hee fought, the Angels from heauen (like the starres against *Sisera*) troubled the *Sarracens*, that in *Euphrates* there was drowned a hundred thousand: thus *Julian* whilest he was my friende, made *Italie* & *Afrike* stoope to the *Roman* Empire, but sodainely perished whē he had reuolted: thus *Heraclius* conquered the *Persians* till hee became a *Monothelite*: I could alleadge histories of these latter times, but being a controuersie for the true religion (howsoeuer indeede it is with-

Aug. lib. 5. de ciuit. cap. 25.

Cap. 26. Lib. 5. histor. cap. 24.

Socrat lib. 7. histor cap. 18.

Euagr. lib 4. histor. cap. 16 ibid. cap. vlt.

without controuersie) I will not doe them that wrong, to grounde vpon a thing, that is not yet graunted: the contentions for my cause, and the apish pollicies of other countries hath pittifully perswaded them, to become *Atheists*. I haue encountred the Papists, and tolde him he mistakes the trueth: his religion is meere erronious, and whilst I went about soundely to perswade this, *Satan* raised vp the lewde faction of irreligious *Brownists* to tell the worlde, that *England* was not so happie to haue a Churche, that titles of honour were things impertinent to trew religion; that decencie was a matter of ceremonie; which was no sooner bruted in the worlds eare, but the *Papists* began scoffingly, to contemne my trueth, and the *Atheist* prophanely to thinke there was none at all. But I am loath to rake in the dead cinders of polluted *Machiuell*, whō though *Satan* made an instrument to disgrace me, and with his dregges dan-

By sundry Doctors of great learning.

Brownists a sect to support Atheisme.

As since they haue written in their bookes.

gerouſlie poyſoned the beſt ſtates: yet ſhall my trueth like the ſunne from vnder a cloude ſhine clearely in the dayes of *Elizabeth*. And men famouſlie learned in all knowledge (as ſome haue done in other places) ſhall openly ſhew vnto the worlde, that ſuch pollicies are but cankers to a Common wealth, ſuch diſcordes, weapons ſheathed in the wombe of true religion; and thoſe great promiſes nothing but Cannon ſhot, to vndermine (if it were poſſible) the rocke where vpon I ſtand. And concerning the other, which in a forwarde pretended zeale haue deſired to cleare the mudde that hath troubled the fountaine: to roote out the weedes that haue hindered the corne, to trie out the droſſe, that hath dimd the golde; haue vnawares (howſoeuer ſome of them politickelie malicious) ſtopped the fountaine; plucked vp the corne, and confounded the treaſure of true religion; ſo that if they might haue preuailed

Ambr. Catharinus. Archiep. Cōpuſonus. Ioh. Molanus. Ioh. Boterus. Anonymos. Petrus Coretus. Poſſeuinus Ieſuit. Learned Puritans.

By wiſe authoritie and learned anſwers.

led (as they might haue preuailed if diligent care had not been taken in this respect) the Churche must haue withered as wanting springs, the people must haue famished as wanting corne: and religion must haue begged as wanting treasure: In deede iust faultes haue been founde, for that many insufficient haue taken vpon them so great charge: that the Bishops haue paultered their liuings in so base a manner, that forgetting their honor, they haue seemed to be familiar with meane persons: that they haue suffered the patrons of their liuings to present any: nay, that which is most intollerable, that they haue consented, whilest patrons haue paused so long (a thing needelesse so neere an Vniuersitie) to finde one sufficient to take the charge, that either a harueſt must quite the cost that the patron hath had by many suters, or if it can bee compassed, it shall bee plainelie temporall. I feele my selfe both too feeble to complaine

L. Archb. of Canturbury. Bancroft. Bilson. Suteliff. Hooker, &c.

A true fault in Englands Church.

Cruell patrons pittie the church hath not the fauour of an ordinarie ward.

plaine, and too farre ſpent to remedie ſo great a miſchiefe : faultes will bee, yet religion muſt bee; the daies are euill, but my charge is not to leaue *England* whileſt the world endureth; and if I muſt (being her companion) I will dye valiantly in her cauſe.

LOY-

LOYALTIES SPEECH TO ENGLANDS CHILDREN.

AFter abundant triall of my many fauours, giue me leaue not vpbrayding you with benefits you haue receiued, only in equall comparison of other countries, to shew the wealth of *Englands* subiects, the happines of her land, the increase of her honor, the contentment and the euerlasting fame of her three children, and of all these obtained by my meanes. Now as the religious dutie to your Prince, the kind affection to your countrie, and the common care amongst your selues one towards another, are things not onely requisite for your good, but likewise commanded by the lawes of God and nature: so rebel-

Loyaltie vrgeth her benefits.

Loyaltie can not abide to heare of treaſon or ſedition.

lion (a thing which I quake to heare of) ſedition (a thing which I hope I ſhal neuer heare of) are both ſo capitall in themſelues, and ſo deteſted of all ages, as the people muſt needs be barbarous that liue to doe them, and the Prince, land, and people lamentably miſerable, that liue to ſuffer them. And if it were not that falſe pretences (an vſuall cloak for the greateſt faults) did make men thinke they were leſſe offenſiue, neuer traitor would intend his Princes death, but take puniſhment of himſelfe for ſo bad a thought: & neuer ſubiects would draw their ſwords in ſeditious manner, but ſheath them in the guiltie intrals of their owne bowels. And therfore thoſe who haue intended to alter, or vſurpe the ſtate of their ſuperiours (which we call rebellion) not to bee branded with ſo foule a ſhame; not to be noted with ſo blacke a marke; not to be called by ſo bad a name, haue indeuoured to ſignifie their ſiniſters practiſes by a good pretence, and haue imployed ſuch for the

Vnderſtanding miſled, begets treaſon.

What is rebellion.

the effecting of them, as inconſtancie hath made deſirous of a chaunge, Atheiſme careles by what meanes, Prodigalitie beggars and full of want, and laſtly want hath made them to growe deſperate. The trueth hereof is apparantly knowne, both by ancient hiſtories, and of later time, not onely within theſe ſmall dominions, hemmed with the narrow ſeas, but in populous and large *Italie*, within the walles of proud, ſtately and commaunding *Rome*, where the often Seceſſions of the cõmon people, to the Mount *Auentin*, may plainly teſtifie that malecontented, they pretẽded a reformation of the rich Nobilitie. So that the horrible, ſtrange, and deteſted practiſes of our time, which ſome moſt irreligiouſly haue plotted to obtaine their purpoſe (being nothing in trueth but an ouerflowing ambition, & an inſatiable deſire to rule) haue been ſmoothed ouer with the fine tearmes of a common good, of the freedome of the people, of iuſtice, of religion, of re-

What men are traytors.

Falſe pretenſes in traytors and rebels.

formation, and such like, things onely mentioned in name, and no further intended, then in a bare shewe: thus delt they that sought to alter the Romane Empire, by lighting the torch of ciuill dissention, (pretending the more easily to winne the people) to free them from subsidies and oppression, which then seemed by their gouernours to lye vpon them, making a shew to the common sorte, that they tendered their case in so great a measure, that they could not longer indure to see them afflicted in so bad a manner. These pretences wee reade to haue been made in *France*, these haue been made in our countrie: and there was neuer either subiect seditious in the Commō wealth, or heretike hatefull to Gods Church, but they desired to be accounted Euangelike and Apostolike reformers, their bad conuenticles (Cockatrices to hatch treason) they tearmed by the name of Gods Church, their phantasticall opinions, Gods knowne trueth, and their

Note this.

poyso-

poyſoned hereſies, the inſpiration of Gods ſpirit. It were tedious & too long to repeate their names, who continually haue ſlaundered Loyaltie with baſe tearmes, when themſelues haue deſerued moſt badly, both of the Church and of the Common wealth. Thus might I with teares remember the wrong that I ſuffered in the *Northerne Rebellion*, where though the fact was ſo infamous, as the memorie is odious to this day, yet did they pretend a reforming of religion, a freedome of conſciēce, and a bettering of the Common wealth. I paſſe ouer without ſpeech (but neuer to be remēbred without ſighes) the lamentable rebellions made in *Lincolneſhire*, the diſorder in *Norffolke* by *Ket* & his bad companie, the intollerable boldnes in *Kent* by *Iacke Straw* and his accomplices. Theſe and ſuch like haue laboured to roote me from the place of mine abode, to pull out Loyaltie from the mindes of ſubiects, to make them offend & thinke there is no fault, to raiſe a flame that

As may appeare by the ſix articles written in french.

Sir Iohn Cheeke wrote of Sed. Alex. Newill.

may giue light, whileſt the Commonwealth ſhall burne; to ſtirre vp thoſe vnder pretence of right, who haue deſired to ſubuert the ſtate of the whole land. *Joſephus* an ancient writer, ſetting downe the rebellious reuolting, which the Iewes made from the Romanes, vnder colour of rude and vntoward dealing which they found in *Florus* their gouernour, he ſetteth downe the particular remonſtrance that King *Agrippa* made, touching the ſmall apparance of occaſion which they had, rebelliouſly to exempt them from their lawfull obedience: the Iewes replied that it was only againſt *Florus*, and not the Romanes, that they bare armes: whom *Agrippa* tolde it was eaſie to ſay ſo, but their actions were ſuch as worſe could not haue been by the greateſt enemies of the Romane Empire: for the townes they ſacked, the treaſuries they robbed, the houſes they burnt, the fields they waſted; neither were the townes, the treaſuries, the houſes, the fields of *Florus*, and

Euer bad things haue good pretenſes.

So may I ſay to the Engliſh traytors.

and no man had wrong but the Romanes, to whom these belonged. In like manner, when in former times (for I am loth to mention these later faults) wrong openly was offered to them of our countrie, the townes takē, the churches robbed, the houses burnt, the men slaine, and not so much sacred, as the very sepulchers of our forefathers, the pretence was onely this, not a wrong or disobedience to the Prince, but a reuenge and reformation of the oppressing cormorant. And thus lately (for I must needs touch it) whilest *Lopez* most Iewishlie, nay, Iudaslie had concluded with the Spanish Pharisies to sell his Soueraigne, yet shamefully hee protested this, whereunto common sense will hardly allow credit, that he onely ment to deceiue them of their coyne, and to saue her from harme. Can we thinke the Spanyard so credulous as in a matter of so great importance to credit without good cause? Can wee thinke it likely, that he, who had concealed it hetherto from

By Ket.

A thing vnlikely and impossible.

from her Councell, ment after to impart it to her Maiestie? These things and manie such (howsoeuer smoothed ouer with a faire shewe) haue been committed by vnnaturall subiects, since her Maiesties raigne, that our very enemies for the state of our countrie, could by no meanes posible haue deserued worse. And howsoeuer the lawe tearme them, not enemies, but simplie as rebels and seditious to their owne countrie, yet they ought not to be honored with the name of peace, nor as subiects any way to be made partakers thereof, vnles the infinitly ouerflowing mercie of their Prince vouchsafe them (vndeserued) so great a fauour. When *Anthonie* rose vp in armes against his countrie, he was iudged & condemned worthilie by the Senate to bee a rebell: and when some intended to send vnto him to intreate of peace, *Tully* thought it was most strange & farre differing from the state of the Senate, to affoord a rebel the priuiledge of an open enemie. *France* can testifie

Reade the chronicles.

Mercy vndeserued.

Peace to enemies but not to traytors.

testifie of the like when trayterous subiects vndeseruedly (giue mee leaue to tearme them by that name) haue been so mightie to withstand the King, that he hath sent without cõtrolling tearms as to an open enemie: *England* hath not now (and I happilie wish, as I hope it neuer shall) any cause to deale in the like manner. But the time was in the dayes of *Edward* the sixt, when a base pesant so braued the Kings armie, that they vouchsafed them parle, as if *Rome* had sent Ambassadors to the men of *Carthage*. But rebellion being the canker of a Common wealth, time hath taught vs by lamentable experience in the warres of *Rome*, *That sedition doth grow by suffering, and that clemencie is rebellions spurre*: which if it had not bin a state so florishing had not so soone failed. And for *France* in the time of holie *Lewes*, sedition had not been so soone cut off, no rebellion had been rooted out, if the sword had not been made sharpe for to cut them off: for it becommeth a Prince

With open enemies out of her selfe.

Rome felt by clemencie to traytors.

like a good Surgion, to cut off the putrified parts, leaſt the ſound bee infected with the like contagion. Furthermore, to groūd my ſeueritie vpon the tearmes of honor (for *Loyaltie* cā hardly indure clemencie towards treaſon) there is no Gentleman (vnles degenerate) that will indure the lye of his companion without recanting: and ſhall the Prince not onely ſuffer this, but wrongs, dammages, iniuries, & deſpitefully at the hands of traytors? Then band your ſelues *Honorable Lords*, wiſe *Prelates*, braue *Captaines*, worthie *Gentlemen*, reſolute *Soldiers*, truſtie *Citizens*, and painful *Cominaltie*, that the ſmalleſt part of treaſon may not take ſtrength in our time, and all of you rather hazard the laſt droppe of your deareſt bloud, then by treacherous dealing, the leaſt wrong may bee offered to her ſacred Maieſtie? This is a iuſt quarrell wherein *Loyallie* we are to vnite our ſelues: for looſing but the bridle to ſuch dangerous treaſons, our Prince, our liues, our Countrie, our fortunes,

If we can not ſuffer the lie, much leſſe treaſon.

An exhortation.

A neceſſary caueat.

tunes, are all indangered at the ſame inſtant. Beſides, either to pardon theſe at home, or fondly to credit thoſe abroad, can bring no other benefite to the land but this, a contempt of our authoritie, a certaine danger to the Princes perſon, a perpetuall and needfull feare of ſome new attempts: yet euer I muſt reſerue a prerogatiue to my gracious Soueraigne; for gracious *clemencie* (a worthie vertue to a ſubiect) but dangerous to a traytor, giues them but leaſure to fortifie themſelues; graunts them but time to renew their force, & the ſtorme is no ſooner paſt, but there is preſent feare of as great a tempeſt. For it is great ſimplicitie to ſuppoſe, & (at leaſt) the extremitie of follie to beleeue, that thoſe who are once plũged in the gulfe of treaſon, and haue throughly plotted for a kingdomes conqueſt, can poſsibly be reclaimed with the greateſt kindnes, or let goe their hope, before their liues giue vp the lateſt gaſpe. If a kingdome were ſo weake, or a Prince ſo timerous,

Mercy often cruell.

Not ſafe to truſt a traytor.

(as almoſt it was lately in the Realme of *France*) yet it were eaſie to proue out of the hiſtories of al times, that traytors & ſeditious perſons, howſoeuer they haue been ſo bold that they durſt in the field incounter the Lords annoynted: yet he whom the ſcripture calleth the author of victorie and the God of battell, ſhall make them to flie, when no man followeth, ſhall cauſe ten thouſand of them to bee chaſed with a thouſand, and in the day of battell giue victorie to his owne annoynted. The rebelliō that was made in *Spayne* againſt the Emperour *Charles* the 5. in the beginning of his raigne, together with the happie ſucceſſe of his Maieſtie, may ſerue as apparant proofe to confirme this, ſeeing the ſeditious faction was foyled, and the moſt of thē taken captiue. It ſhall be needles to adde this, that in the daies of Queene *Mary*, when firſt ſhe came vnto the Crowne, finding the people to be mutinous, and in the land nothing almoſt but flat rebellion, in ſhorter time then the ſpace

Charles the fift.

of

of two moneths, worthely ſhe was conqueror ouer all her enemies: ſuch was the ſtate of *Flanders* 1566. and three yeares after: yet neuer heard of that rebellious ſedition preuailed againſt a lawfull Soueraigne: all ages afoorde multitude of examples in this kind; the vnnaturall riot of *Duras*: the wonderfull ſucceſſe of the battell of *Dreux* in *France*, and after of *Poncenas*: and not to ſtand in particulars of that country, the euent of things hath made known vnto vs, that rebellion builded vpon a weake foundation cannot poſſibly ſtand, if the Lord in anger do blow vpon it: neither ſpeake I this to make a Prince more ſeuere againſt his rebellious ſubiects, to make the Scepter of a King plow vp the bowels of his owne countrie men, but to ſhew that *Loyaltie* cannot brooke rebellion, that ſedition is odious to a good ſubiect, & that treaſon is intollerable in a Commō wealth, if *I* lincked with *Religion*, (a thing hardly to bee hoped for in this bad age) coulde but liue for a

ſmall time ſafe from treaſon, if ſome of *Englands* ſubiects had continuallie remained in my fauor, then durſt I boldly haue compared with the proudeſt nation; and hauing religion a crowne, and *loyaltie* as a ſtrong defence, ſhe might valiantly haue incountered her ſtouteſt foes; for I may confidently auouch (in the reuerend ſecuritie of an vpright minde) that excepting treaſons blowne into the heartes of her ſubiects, by forraine enemies, *England* hath been as free from danger, as far from diſtreſſe, in as great proſperitie, as euer was Iland in ſo bad an age. Then countriemen giue mee leaue, to perſwade thus much, that the benefite of treaſon ſhall bee this, if vnhappilie (which God forbid) you obtaine your purpoſe, your countrie ſhall bee deſolate, you your ſelues ſhall bee feared and ſuſpected of your enemies, and theſe ample ornaments, garlands of long peace, ſhall crowne your enemies, for the victories obtained in your conqueſt. I that haue made your children

Some of the nobilitie.

Note this.

A thing lamentable.

dren dutifull, in whose mindes the name of a *Father* did extinguish disobedience: I that haue made your friendes trustie, in whome the name of sacred *Friendship* was wont to banish all deceite: I that haue made your wiues, in the honorable reuerence of your loue, to respect no perswasion of strangers, thereby wantonly to commit adulterie; I (I say) intreate you by these fauours, that being children, in duetie you bee not disobedient to so good a mother, being friendes by promise (and that confirmed with a sacred vow) you bee not found deceitefull to so dread a Soueraigne: & lastly, being those whom nature, religion, time and countrie haue matched nearlie for this 36. yeares, with so gratious a Prince, that you bee not seene to prostitute your bewtie to a stranger, to admit *Tarquin* into your fauour, and (neuer to bee vnpunished) to violate so great an oath: for what the seuen Ambassadors commended in their

What loyalty hath done.

Plutar. in lib. de exilio.

their common wealths vnto King *Ptolomey*, that *England* may iustly vaunt she professeth at this day: and where as they in three things compared which should excell, *England* possessing one & twentie, may iustly in comparison out strip the proudest that *Europe* hath. The
1. Ambassadors of *Rome* boasted that their *Temples were honoured, their gouernours obeyed, and their wicked punished*; may not *England* doe it more iustly, if you compare it with those times? And yet for honouring our Temples, I cannot so much commend vs, but onely that that little honor (which they haue amongst some) it is in true sinceritie. The Am-
2. bassadors of *Carthage* iustly boasted that *their Nobilitie was valiant to fight, their Cōminaltie to take paynes, and their Philosophers to teach*: was there euer countrie (I except not *Carthage* in his best estate) where either the Nobilitie is more valiant, the Cōminaltie more laborious, or the teachers more profound, then in

England

England at this day? The Ambassadors 3.
of *Cicely* boasted that *their countrie executed iustice, loued trueth*, and *commended simplicitie:* neuer Common wealth I dare auouch, since the first societie that man had, was ruled with more vpright iustice, was honored with greater trueth, and admired for more simplicitie, then generallie is the state of *England:* 4.
the Ambassadors of the *Rhodians* bragged, that the *old men were honest*, the *young men shamefaste*, and the *women peaceable*, and may not *England* iustlie boaste of all these? The Ambassadors of *Athens*, that they consented not that 5.
their rich should be *partiall*, their *people should be idle, their gouernours should be ignorant*, and is not all this now as true in *England* amongst vs, as euer it was in *Athens* amongst them? The *Ambassadours of Lacedemon*, vaunted that there 6.
was *no enuie because all were equall*, no coueteousnes because all were common: no idlenes, because all did labour: and

Enuied of other nations. are not the same banished from our land, howsoeuer procured by a better cause? For *England* wanteth enuie in her selfe, not because all are equall, but all friends: *England* is not couetous, not by reason of communitie, but because of conscience. And idlenes out of this land was banished long since, with the *Lorde Lourdane.* *Dane*. The Ambassadors of *Sicionia* glorified iustlie in these three (wherein *England* is supposed to bee farre shorte) that they admitted *no strangers, inuentors of new toyes, that they wanted Phisitions to kill the sicke, and aduocates to make their pleas immortall*, wherein I must needes confesse (for trueth onely becommeth my talke) that howsoeuer in the aboundance of her wealth, *England* hath giuen strangers money for very toyes, yet it was not for loue of them, but to shew the world, that their plentie was not debarde from euery stranger: for Phisitions I may truly say thus, that the *Æsculapius* honoring *Padua* in

7.

the aboundance of her skill, is vnequall to make comparison with vs in *England*; and lastly, for our aduocates (a slander I confesse common, but yet most vntrew) men so learnedlie wise, so wiselie religious; and so respectiuely learned, wise and religious, as if *Europe* would seeme to contend in this, doutles shee should bee found farre inferior. Now these (and benefites farre greater then these are) should *England* be robbed of by *Treason*, depriued of by *Sedition*, and quite spoyled of by *Rebellion*. And therefore in the colde quaking feare of so great an euill, when as I think how treason goeth about to supplant my state, to sel my honor, and make me perish with one wound, then doe I iustly wish the teares of King *Anchises* mourning for the fatall destruction of proude *Troy*; or of *M. Marcellus* for the citie of *Syracusa*, when hee sawe it burned or of *Salust* when he sawe *Rome* ill gouerned: or of King *Demetrius*,

Learned Iudges, Serieants, Counsellers.

when hee saw his sonne in lawe slaine in the battaile of *Marathone*. But because mens harts are flintie, and not touched with iust sorrowe, breeding remorse of my fall, let me wish, and wishing obtaine the kinde and brinish teares of *Queene Rosana*, for her husband *Darius*, when he was conquered by the great *Alexander*, or of bewtifull *Cleopatra*, weeping without comfort, that her best beloued *Anthony* was conquered by *Cæsar*: but if these teares be prophane, and not befitting to mourne for the wrong, to so vertuous and to so holy an Iland, then let me wish the teares of *Jeremy* for *Babylon*, when it was made captiue, or *Dauids* mourning for his sonne *Absolon*, or olde father *Jacobs* for his sonne *Ioseph*: this were tragicke matter, to write of treason, to thinke but of that (yet death to thinke) which they intended; after that day (if euer that then day shoulde enioy a sunne) (being darker then the blackest night) (as I wish and hope that

it neuer ſhall) ſhall *Englands* wiſe and painefull Chroniclers write nothing but warres and bloodie fieldes: *Poets Lucan-like* begin with *Bella per emathios plus quam ciuitia Campos*: and then thoſe that like the Philoſopher *Ariminius*, (who wrote of the aboundance of *Ægypt*) haue finelie diſcourſed of the plentie of this Iland, may ſit downe, and ſhew a naked, bare, and fleſhles *Skeleton* to the whole worlde: and thoſe that haue boaſted (as *Demophon* of the fertiltie of *Arabia*) ſhall ſigh and ſay that *Engliſhmens* teares hath ſhedde ſuch aboundance of ſalte, in the earths furrowes, that the *Iland* is become barren: and they that like *Thurilides* (of the treaſures of *Tyrus*) haue tolde the worlde by trauaile of *Englands* wealth, may ſit downe and ſay, *The rich betrayed, are the richeſt ſpoyles*: and thoſe that like *Aſclepius* (of the mines of *Europe*) haue written of the welthie bowels of the Engliſh earth, ſhall ſay that then ſhe

sendeth forth nothing but smoake, desirous to make an eternall night: And those that haue written like *Dodrillus* (of the praise of *Greece*) (or *Leonidas* of the triumphs of *Thebes*, or *Eumenides* of *Athens* gouernment) shall tell posteritie, that *Treason* in one day deprived England of all these.

As they account it.

But least some should think, that then my sorrow should be greater thē cause why, and that the losse were nothing which *England* should haue by so foule a sinne; giue mee leaue but in plaine tearmes to set forth a naked trueth, and diuiningly to tell, what would bee *Englands* miserie at that day: *M. Crassus* the renowned Romane, valiant in warre, & wise at home, taking *Syllas* part against *Marius* and *Julius Cæsar*, that was then Dictator, who being taken prisoner spake a loude, *I weigh not my harme, but the pleasure that Crassus shall haue to heare this newes*: And amongst other, surely this will not bee the least that *Spayne*

Tell it not in Gath, &c.

should

ſhould heare but of this harme, the Court which is now (like the eight *Spheare*) beautified fullie with fixt ſtars, ſhould be nothing but like the ayre full of *Meteors*, ſending downe lightning, thunder, raine, haile, and ſuch like: and then ſhould ancient *Cato* that in 86. yeares was neuer ſeene to violate grauitie, ſo much as by a ſmile; who was wiſe in ſpeech, ſweete in conuerſation, in correcting ſeuere, in preſents liberal, in diet ſober, in promiſe certaine, and laſtly inexorable in iuſtice: leaue the Court at the age of 55. yeares, and betake him to a little village neere *Pilena*, where the paſsinger might write vpon the porch of his poore cabinet, *O fœlix Cato tu ſolus ſcis viuere*: O happie *Cato* thou onely knoweſt how to liue: then ſhould *Lucullus* one of the valianteſt Captaines that *Rome* had after the warre againſt the *Parthians* (ſeeing the common wealth troubled with the ciuill faction of *Sylla* and *Marius*) from *Rome*, betake

The ancient and graue counſeller.

The miſery of captaines.

betake himselfe to *Lobo* neere *Athens*; then might *Diocleſian* (although a tyrant, which is ſeldome but ambitious) after 18. yeares gouernment, betake himſelfe to ſpend the reſt of his daies in obſcure ſilence; whom if the Romanes would recall by ambaſſage, within two yeares after he would rather liue in his poore garden with *Pericles* his inſcription, *Jnueni portum, ſpes & fortuna valete, nil mihi vobiſcum, ludite nunc alios:* (the ſame is ingrauen in the tombe of *Franciſcus Pullicius*) And then iuſtly ſhould *Scipio Africanus* ſomtimes ſo highly honored in *Rome*, which in the 22. yeares tha the made war with *Aſia*, *Africk* and *Spayne*, neuer fought vnluckely, who gained *Africa*, ſacked *Carthage*, ouercame *Numantia*, and conquered *Hannibal:* yet diſcontented liued in a poore towne for cleuen yeares, without euer entring into *Rome* or *Capua*. Such ſhould be then the deſolate ſtate of this whole Iland: and greater calamities ſhould fall

Elius, Spar.

ſall vpon vs, then a heart not vſed to theſe, poſsiblie were able to vtter. But ſeeing I haue begun, giue mee leaue a little to reaſon the caſe further: Can they preferre vnknowne, before thoſe that are well knowne? vniuſt, before thoſe that are moſt iuſt? ſtrangers, before domeſticall? couetous, before ſoberly moderate? wicked, before religious? deadly enemies, before thoſe that are ſworne vnto the Common wealth? a *Spanyard*, before an *Engliſhman*, and *Philip* before our dread Soueraigne? There was neuer nation found ſo barbarous, ſo cruel, ſo without pitie, wherein not ſo many (nay not one) was found ſo cruell to his owne countrie. *Tully* (O if he liued now to inuey againſt thoſe) thought *Verres* the worſt man that euer countrie had: yet compare him with theſe, and he was meerely honeſt; hee ſtole but out of *Apollos* temple, ſecretlie and in the night, ſome fewe religiouſlie honoured Images: but theſe (I feare to

Loyaltie vehement againſt treaſon.

Traytors cõpared with Verres.

speake it) haue intended to take a sacred Prince from a holie land: he offered violence to the place where *Apollo* was borne, but these not to the place, but to a personage, farre more sacred then *Apollos* was. But let not deep scanning wisedome be offended that I compare her to *Apollo:* for whatsoeuer wrōg was offered to that, which trueth, or ignorance, deemed in earth the dearest, that is contained in the treasons, which haue been intended against our dread Soueraigne; who all this while standing like a rocke of pearles (in the assured confidence of Englands watchman) is not d anted to see her enemies to bee so malitious. After that *Philip* of *Macedon* had conquered the *Athenians*, hauing Philosophers at supper with him he propounded this *Question*, *What was the greatest thing in all the worlde*; one answered the *water:* another saide the *sunne:* another saide the *hill Olympus:* another sayd the giant *Atlas:* another

God.

sayd

ſaide *Homer:* but the laſt and wiſeſt anſwered (*nihil aliud in rebus humanis magnum, niſi magna deſpiciens*) nothing is great in humane things, but a minde that contemneth great things. *M. Curius*, whē the Ambaſſadours of the *Samnites* offered him golde in great abundance, anſwered, I had rather bee Lord ouer you, that are Lordes ouer it, then onely poſſeſſe it ſelfe: and did not this ſpeech of his deſerue better then the action of *Lucullus* to rob the *Spartans?* Did not *Crates* gaine more glorie by caſting his riches into the ſea, then King *Nabuchadonozor* for taking the treaſure out of the temple? Is it not more honor for the rich *Indians* to contemne their golde, then for the greedie *Spanyards* ſo to couet it? which if it were not vſed to the preiudice of forraine princes, all countries could wiſh him to bee glutted with it, and that the *Iberian* ſands were like vnto golden *Tagus*, and their little riuers, like vnto *Pactolus*

 ſtreames;

streames; but since hee makes it the sinew of his warre, and his warre nothing but an intended triumph ouer the greatest Empyres; it behooueth Princes to crosse his *Argoses*, that goods lewdlie gotten, may not be worse spent: but whilest these ruinating ambitious plotts, grounded vpon treason, haue risen vp like a Pyramides in the greatest Kingdomes, *Englands* Soueraigne hath sitten confident, without presumption, conquering without crueltie, and victorious without contention. Whilest in the meane time *Sedition* shalbe ruinous, *Rebellion* shall haue an end, and *Treason* shall be fatall to him that thought it: for when heathen writers haue flatteringly perswaded that treason may haue successe, then shall the Scripture say, *That neuer traitor was mentioned and left vnpunished. Sellam* conspired against *Zacharias* the King of *Israel*, and slew him, but within one moneth after, hee himselfe was slaine of *Manahem*: *Peka* conspired

A happie sight.

4. *King*. 15.

ſpired againſt *Pekaiam*, and after was ſlaine of *Oſeas*, and *Oſeas* the laſt king of *Iſrael*, was taken bound and brought into *Aſſyria*. Infinite might examples bee in this kinde, who vpon falſe perſwaſion haue riſen vp againſt the Lords anoynted, and haue periſhed like *Iabin* in the day of battaile, and wee may ſing with *Deborah*, *They fought from heauen euen the ſtarres in their courſe fought againſt Siſera: the riuer of Kiſhon ſwept them away, the auntient riuer, the riuer Kiſhon, O my ſoule thou haſt marched valiantlie.* Hitherto haue I been toſſed in the dangerous waues of ſwelling *Treaſon*, where iuſt occaſion was offered to ſpeake of ſundrie by name, famous to the worlde for ſuch foule offences: but I am loath to rippe vp the hatefull memorie of our countries enemies, whome though rayling brainſicke *Romoaldus* the *Scot*, ſeem to cleare by his fond defence, yet it is ſo friuolous, idle, without learning, reading, or experience, as I can tearme it

Iudg.4.23.

Iudg.5.20. 21.

So the Spaniſh fleete.

In confutat. *Summarij Rat.*

Against my L. Keeper & others.

nothing but *Catilins* oration against *Tullies* Consulship: and when profanely by his defence hee hath encouraged traytors the best hee can: yet then with indifferent and wise readers he shall bee deemed foolish, and *England* florish ouer all her enemies. I am willing Countrimen, to speake more largely vnto you, but fearing to bee troublesome, I onely desire but this fauour, that according to the Hon. Examples of your famous forefathers, *Loyaltie* may dwell in the heartes of English subiects.

The conclusion.

FINIS.

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